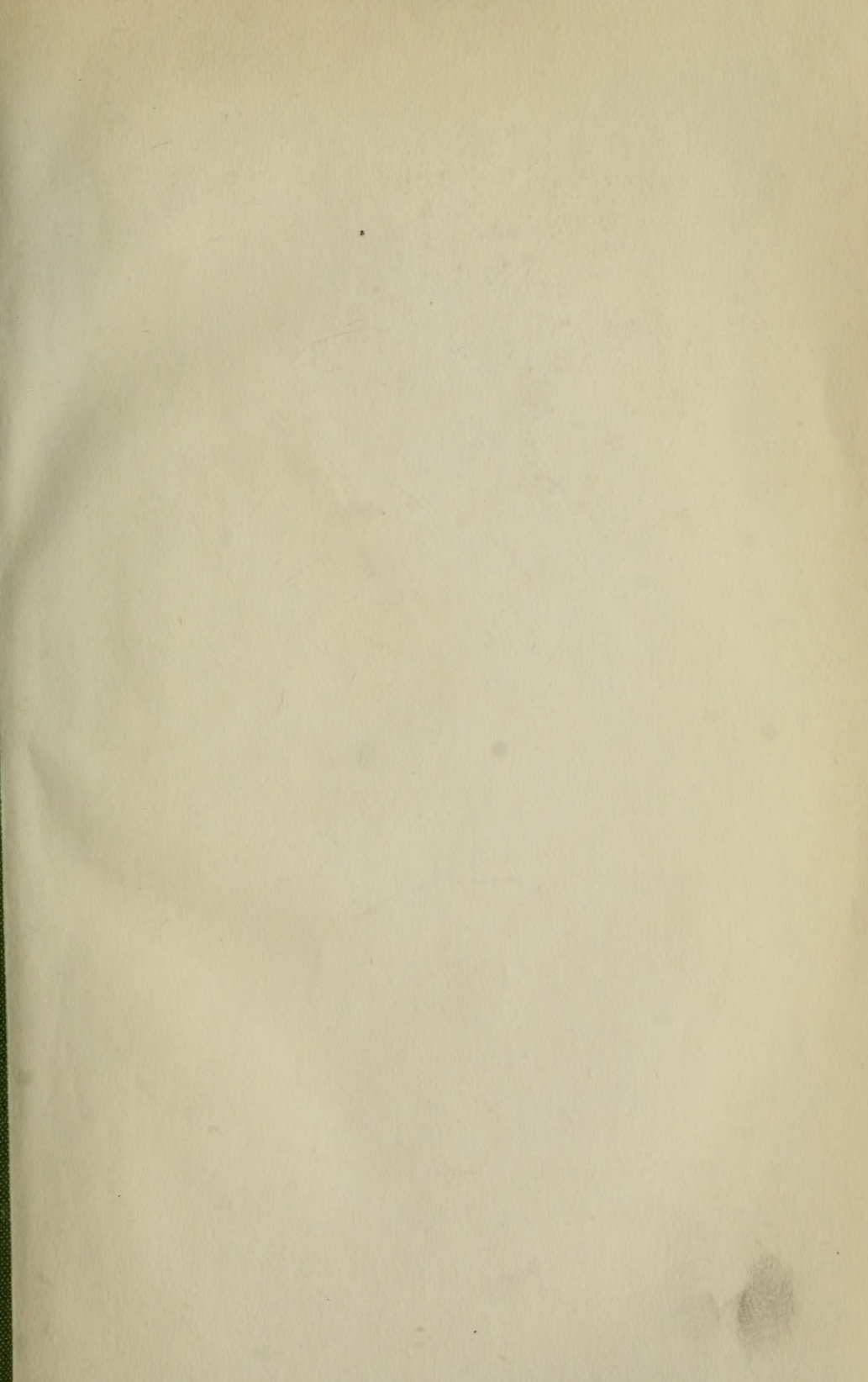
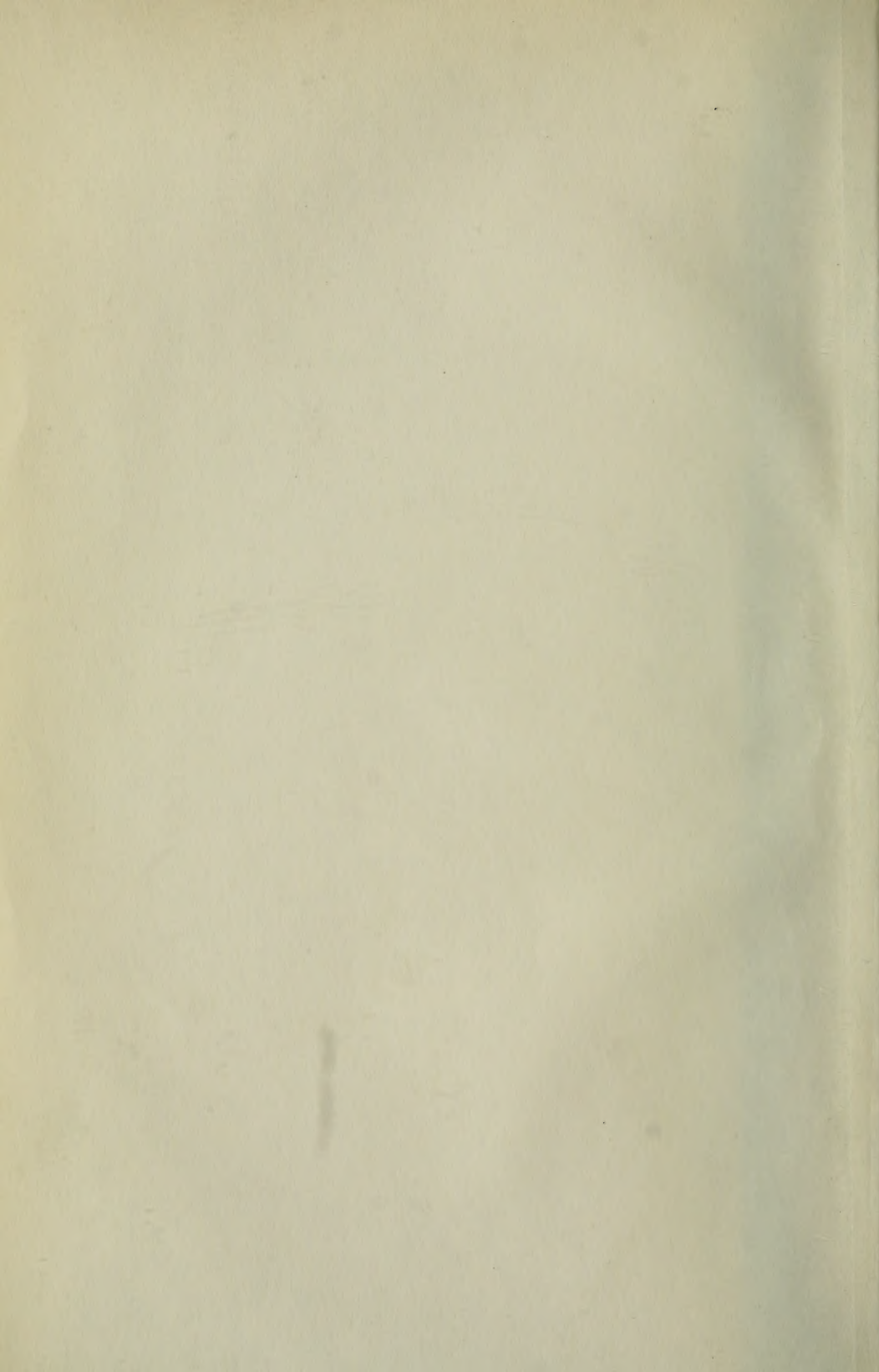




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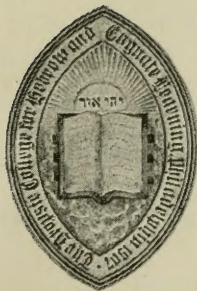
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THE BOOK OF ESTHER IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

BY JACOB HOSCHANDER, Dropsie College.

CHAPTER I

The ill-fate of the Book of Esther—The Greek version—The apocryphal additions—Talmudic interpretations—Luther's verdict—Modern theories—Conservative exegetes—Errors of the interpreters—The interpolators in the Maccabean period—The erroneous identification of the king of Esther.

IF there were any truth in the cabbalistic maxim, 'All depends on fate, even the Scriptures', we would say that the Book of Esther was ill-fated from the very outset. It relates how once upon a time, in the Persian period, a terrible danger to the Jews was averted by natural circumstances, without any visible divine intervention. In our sceptical age, we should expect such a story to be held the most credible of all the narratives of the Old Testament. Just the contrary has happened. None among them is more discredited by modern exegetes, except a few, than this story. The narrative is by some partly doubted, partly denied, by others denied altogether. But it is only fair to say that they are not to blame.¹ The current interpreta-

¹ There is, however, no excuse for the unfair treatment of the story of Esther by not a few of the modern critics who are not satisfied with demonstrating its unhistorical character, but for the purpose of impressing upon the mind of the reader its fabulous absurdity, frequently distort the facts and make forced interpretations. The arguments and theories of many of them would be more convincing if they were presented in an objective manner, and were not seasoned with abusive language directed at the contents of this story, its tendency, and at the Jews in general. For

tion hardly admits of a more favourable conclusion. However, it is evident that already in antiquity the facts had been distorted and represented in a false light. Interpreters who lived two hundred years or more after the events of the story occurred, and knew nothing about the real issue of those events, corrupted the text according to their own wrong interpretations.

The Alexandrian Jew who translated the story into Greek—at a time, however, before the Hebrew text was greatly corrupted—increased the perplexity.² The Greek version, being a free and paraphrastic translation, naturally does not square with the original Hebrew text. But the differences touch also in a striking manner the proper names,³ a fact that cannot be due to paraphrase or exegesis. This phenomenon gave cause to suspect the authenticity of the Hebrew text.⁴ No other satisfactory

specimens of this kind, we may point to Carl Siegfried, in his commentary on the Book of Esther (in Nowack's 'Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament', Göttingen, 1901); Paul de Lagarde in his essay 'Purim', Göttingen, 1887; G. Jahn in his book 'Esther', Leiden, 1901; see also note 26.

² For the various Greek and Latin versions of Esther, cf. B. Jacob, 'Esther bei den LXX' (in Stade's *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1890, pp. 241-98); L. B. Paton, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, New York, 1908, pp. 29-47; P. Haupt, 'Critical Notes on Esther' (in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, Chicago, 1908, pp. 115-93); H. Willrich, 'Esther und Judith' (in his *Judaica*, Göttingen, pp. 1-28), and G. Jahn's book cited above. The latter's Hebrew rendering of the Greek version is an amateurish biblical parody, but several of his observations deserve serious consideration.

³ See Jacob, *l. c.*, p. 271.

⁴ Willrich, *l. c.*, p. 15, seriously maintains that the Book of Esther was originally written in Greek and subsequently translated into Hebrew. There is no need to discuss this impossible view, as Willrich himself reluctantly concedes that the Hebrew text in several places exhibits more originality than the Greek (p. 19, n. 1), and, moreover, confesses that he is unable to examine the linguistic character of the former.

explanation for this odd divergence has been forthcoming. This difficulty is due to the fact that the action was placed in the wrong period. The difference between the two versions is easily explained as soon as we know that Egypt was not a part of the Persian empire at the period of these events.⁵ Hence the Egyptian Jews were not involved in the decree of Haman, and probably knew nothing about the events of Purim.⁶ The Alexandrian translator, who apparently was a learned and pious Jew, may have lived in Palestine or in some other part of Syria among pious Jews who observed the festival of Purim.⁷ Having annually listened to the reading of the Book of Esther, he may have known it fairly well by heart, but could not remember correctly most of the proper names. After returning to his own country, he translated this story for the edification

⁵ Egypt revolted from Persia in the year 405 B.C.E., and remained independent for a period of sixty-five years. The latter, however, never recognized Egypt's independence, and frequently made futile attempts to reduce it to obedience.

⁶ We thus fully agree with Willrich (*l. c.*, p. 3), that the Alexandrian Jews had neither observed the festival of Purim, nor known anything about these events, before the story was written in Greek. But we go still further and maintain, that even after they had become acquainted with this story, the Alexandrian Jews had no cause to celebrate the events of Purim. This festival was most likely introduced into Egypt by Palestinian Jews not long before the destruction of the Temple.

⁷ We must bear in mind that the pious of that period who strictly observed all religious ordinances represented only a small fraction of the Jews. The common people had abandoned the celebration of Purim long ago. Therefore, there was no reason for the author of the First Book of the Maccabees to refer to the latter festival, even if it had coincided with Nicanor Day, which it did not. Thus the objections of Willrich and all critics on this point are unfounded. Moreover, if Willrich were right in his assertion that the author of the First Book of the Maccabees assumes a decidedly hostile attitude towards the Pharisees, we could not expect this author to mention a festival observed solely by this pious sect.

of his countrymen. Not having had a Hebrew copy at his disposal, and the translation not having been intended for liturgic purposes, but merely as a novel, he substituted numerous fictitious names for those in the original.⁸

⁸ Jacob, *l. c.*, pp. 266 ff., is certainly right in concluding that the Greek version is a free translation from the Hebrew text. But that alone would not account for the proper names, as Jacob (p. 270, n. 1) freely admits, which with the exception of a few differ entirely from those of the Hebrew text (cf. Paton, *l. c.*, pp. 66-71). Furthermore, a free translator would hardly omit passages without paraphrasing them, and would rather add than omit. Finally, it seems improbable that he should have paraphrased passages in a way which show the story in a different light, as he did in the passages containing the decrees of Haman and Mordecai. Jahn's sweeping assertion that the Greek version, on all points, resembles more the original than the Masoretic text, is not to be taken seriously. Willrich's view that the story was originally written in Greek (see n. 4), cannot be considered at all. But even the present writer's explanation that the Greek translator did not have a Hebrew copy at his disposal when he made his translation, is not free from objections. It is incredible that the translator should not have remembered the name of Ahasuerus which occurs twenty-eight times in the story, the gentile noun Agagi which occurs six times, and especially the passage: 'And he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone; for they had showed him the people of Mordecai' (3. 6), which is of vital importance for the understanding of the main event of our story. But in the opinion of the present writer, the Hebrew text underwent considerable changes after it had been translated into Greek. The Alexandrian translator was a pious, conscientious Jew and a good Hebrew scholar who, though paraphrasing the original text and substituting fictitious names, did not consciously omit anything. The omissions found are due to his exegesis. Thus, for instance, he could not understand the meaning of *עמו כלשון עמו* (1. 22), and *ומדבר בתולדות שנית* (2. 19), and not having been able to consult the original, he attributed the difficulties to his bad memory, and omitted them altogether. He may have known and applied the maxim: 'In doubtful cases, omission is preferable to doing wrong' (*שב ואל תעשה ערף*). Nor could he understand the difficult passages *הספר עם המלך אמר* (9. 25), and *ובבאה לפני המלך אמר עם הספר* (9. 31), but in these cases, having been convinced that they were corrupt, he explained them differently. The fact, that so far none of the commentators have been able to explain the passages quoted satisfactorily, leaves no doubt that the

The apocryphal writer went a step farther.⁹ To his pious mind it seemed inconceivable that such a miraculous

Greek translator was a good Hebrew scholar. His memory, however, played him a trick as to the date of Esther's elevation. Since the twelfth month played so important a part in the events of Esther, he believed that Esther's elevation took place in the same month. This wrong date proves again that he translated from memory; for if the original had contained this date, there was not the least reason for any interpolator to place that event in the tenth month. As for the decrees, however, the translator neither omitted anything nor paraphrased them, but presented an exact translation (see Chapter IX). The passage 3. 6 is undoubtedly due to a late interpreter who believed that Haman's decree was caused by his enmity towards Mordecai. We owe a debt of gratitude to the Greek translator who showed us that the original Hebrew author was quite innocent of this stupidity. As to the name Artaxerxes in the Greek version, there is not the least doubt that the Hebrew text, even in a late period, contained the name אֲחַשְׁוֵרְשׁ (see Chapter IV). The gentile noun Agagi in the Hebrew text is not original either (see Chapter II).

⁹ The Greek version has at the end a subscription giving information about its authorship and date, which reads: 'In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said that he was a priest and Levite, and Ptolemy his son, brought the foregoing letter concerning Phourai, which they said was genuine, and that Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, one of the people of Jerusalem, had interpreted it' (*Ἐτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰσήνεγκε Δοσίθεος, ὃς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ Λευίτης, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουραί, ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι, καὶ ἡρμηνεύειν Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου, τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*). Jacob, *l. c.*, p. 274, maintains that the king Ptolemy referred to in this subscription was Ptolemy VII, Soter II, Lathurus, who reigned 117-81 B.C.E., and thus the introduction of our story into Egypt occurred in the year 114, while Willrich, *l. c.*, p. 4 f., contends that this king was Ptolemy XIV, and that the Book of Esther was composed in the year 48 B.C.E. However, both of them are wrong as far as the date of the Greek version is concerned. The subscription does not refer to the original Greek version of our story. Willrich himself points out that the Alexandrian scribe was not convinced of the genuineness of this Book and declined to take any responsibility for it (p. 3). Jacob likewise observes that expressions in this subscription indicate something like distrust (p. 276). This is of course the meaning of the clause *ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι*. What reason had the Alexandrian scribe to doubt the genuineness of this Book? The Alexandrian Jewish scholars to whom we are indebted for the preservation of so many apocryphal books

event should be narrated unless abounding in religious sentiments, and he believed it to be a meritorious deed to improve upon its contents by representing the chief Jewish figures in the story as saints in Israel. This representation, though obviously contrary to the facts, was nevertheless generally accepted in ancient and modern times. Flavius Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, moulded into his story of Esther both the Hebrew and Greek versions—though more of the latter than of the former¹⁰—and considerable parts were not so hypercritical as to doubt the event of Purim. With the exception of Sirach, none of the apocryphal books has a subscription. Paton, *l.c.*, p. 30, observes: 'A more serious objection to the genuineness of the subscription is the fact that it stands at the end of the long additions that seem to come from a different hand from that of the original translator'. However, this fact does not prove that the subscription is not genuine. There had been a well-known Greek version of Esther long before the arrival of Dositheus. But the latter brought another version, enlarged and interpolated by additions, and asserted that it was the genuine story of Esther translated from the Hebrew text, contending that the old version was defective. Therefore, the Alexandrian scribe who copied it rightly doubted his assertion, and declined to accept any responsibility for its truth. The original Greek version was undoubtedly made in a pre-Maccabean period. This seems to be the true reason why the Book of Esther is the only historical book in the Greek Old Testament that has a subscription.

¹⁰ We cannot agree with Jacob, *l.c.*, p. 291, that Josephus faithfully follows LXX, and Jahn, *l.c.*, p. x, is perfectly right on this point. Josephus calls Haman an Amalekite, which can be only a translation of *Agagi* of the Hebrew text, while the Greek version has instead of it Βουγαῖος. Then Josephus quotes the passage ויבן בעיניו, which LXX omits (see n. 8). Further, he gives the names of the two conspiring eunuchs בנתן ותרם, but appears to have read נבתן ותרם, which are omitted in LXX. Finally, in accordance with the Hebrew text, he states that the Jews slew seventy-five thousand Gentiles, while LXX knows only of fifteen thousand. Nevertheless, Josephus evidently preferred the Greek version for his purpose. He may have done so for linguistic reasons. A Jew translating the Old Testament into a foreign tongue would for the most part, if possible, make use of and adhere to the expressions of the already existing version. We can therefore understand why Josephus should have made use of expressions of LXX

of the apocryphal additions, embellishing them with some exegesis, probably of his own.¹¹ Origen¹² declared the Greek version and its additions canonical.¹³

Though the use of the expression 'common sense' is a platitude, we cannot refrain from asserting that common sense has played no part in the interpretation of the Book of Esther, either in ancient or in modern times. The Rabbis, by their homiletic interpretations, contributed not a little to change this strictly historical narrative into an incredible fable.¹⁴ A few among them seem to have felt that there was something strange about this book.¹⁵ But, as a rule, the talmudic and midrashic sayings concerning the events of our story are not of the least value for exegesis,¹⁶ and in all probability were not intended to be. Notwithstanding this obvious fact, we, even in our critical age, still follow time-honoured talmudic interpretations

(Jacob, *l. c.*, p. 262). On the other hand, his *Antiquities* was written for Gentiles, and therefore his intention may have been that his version of Esther should be in accordance with that written in Greek which might have been known to the critics of his period.

¹¹ We do not agree with Paton, *l. c.*, p. 39, that Josephus's additions are derived from an early form of Jewish Midrash, as no trace of them is found in the talmudic literature. His representation is a mixture of truth and fiction.

¹² In his letter to Julius Africanus, 3.

¹³ Cf. Paton, *l. c.*, p. 34.

¹⁴ See especially Talmud Babli Megillah 10a-16b, and cf. Paton, *l. c.*, pp. 18-24 and 97-104.

¹⁵ See Chapter V.

¹⁶ The talmudic chronology concerning the date of our story is of no value at all. It is noteworthy that in Talmud, Midrash, and Targumim, Mordecai is represented as a contemporary of Zerubbabel (see Ezra 2, 2, &c.). But in Talmud Babli Menaḥot 65a, we find the same Mordecai as the contemporary of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. This fact appears to have escaped the notice of all critics. Willrich might have made it the basis of his theory that the Book of Esther was written 48 B.C.E. (see n. 8), if he had known it

which obscure the right understanding of the book. Some exegetes are apparently over-fond of the rabbinical sayings, gleefully quoting and exploiting them for the purpose of stamping the story as legend.¹⁷ It is even possible that modern critics would hardly have hit upon the idea of seeing a legend in this story, if Talmud, Midrash, and Targumim had not embellished it with their exaggerated fables.¹⁸ It is regrettable to see that the strict line drawn by the mediaeval Jewish commentators between 'exegesis' (פֶּשֶׁט) and 'homiletics' (מִדְּרָשׁ) is completely ignored by modern scholars.¹⁹ Many of the rabbinical sayings dealing with Esther are of such a character that we cannot but believe that they were witty and homiletic remarks, partly to amuse, partly to exhort, the audience gathered around the Purim-table.²⁰

Martin Luther's condemnation of the Book of Esther in his *Table-Talks*: 'I am so hostile to this book that I wish it did not exist, for it Judaizes too much, and has

¹⁷ Characteristic in this respect is Paton's Commentary. As a book of reference it is an exceedingly valuable work. But with all modern critics he holds the story of Esther to be a mere fable. In order to prove this point, he employs a peculiar method. His exegesis in the main is actually based upon the Talmud, Midrash, and Targumim. Though on every point he quotes numerous opinions, his general contention is that the only correct explanation of the points under discussion is given by the rabbis, and, since the facts, according to their explanations, could not have occurred,—*ergo* the whole story is not true. Cf. also Siegfried, *l. c.*, p. 163, and Jahn, *l. c.*, p. 48.

¹⁸ Paton's observation (*l. c.*, p. 18) is interesting: 'They (the Targumim) show a fine feeling for the Hebrew idiom and are exceedingly suggestive to the modern interpreter'. So they are, as many theories of the modern interpreters have been suggested by them.

¹⁹ Paton, *l. c.*, p. 100, does indeed point out the difference between פֶּשֶׁט and מִדְּרָשׁ, and nevertheless treats the latter as serious rabbinical exegesis.

²⁰ See Talmud Babli Megillah 7 a.

too much heathen naughtiness,'²¹ largely contributed to prejudice the mind of Protestant theologians in dealing with it.²²

As early as the eighteenth century, scholars began to doubt the veracity of many facts described in Esther, as they seemed to be contradictory to the customs of the Persians recorded by Herodotus, and pronounced them unhistorical.²³ The nineteenth and twentieth centuries actually teem with hypotheses concerning both the origin of Purim and the contents of our story.²⁴ There is no exaggeration in declaring that it is easier to believe in the most improbable tales of antiquity than in these theories which are—with hardly any exception—flimsy, vague, and incredible. It is not necessary to discuss and refute them, as this has already been done—successfully and convincingly—by Siegmund Jampel.²⁵ But it is hardly fair to condemn the Talmud, as most of the modern commentators do, for holding the Book of Esther higher than the Books of the Prophets.²⁶ The Rabbis were not Bible

²¹ In his works, edited by Walsh, VII, 194; XXII, 2080. On Luther's opinion, cf. A. P. Stanley, *The History of the Jewish Church*, New York, 1879, III, p. 194. Paton, *l. c.*, p. 96, observes that Luther's verdict is not too severe. Paton shares this attitude with numerous Protestant theologians who approach this subject with the pre-conceived idea of justifying Luther's verdict.

²² But there were a few Protestant commentators who, notwithstanding their veneration for Luther's personality, had the courage to blame him for his subjective judgement, as did Carl Friedrich Keil, in his commentary on Esther, p. 613.

²³ For the literature of the eighteenth century, see Paton, *l. c.*, p. III f.

²⁴ Cf. Paton, *l. c.*, pp. 77-94 and III-III.

²⁵ *Das Buch Esther*, Frankfurt a. M., 1907, pp. 45 ff.

²⁶ Emil Kautzsch, in his *Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Schrifttums*, Freiburg, 1892, p. 117, vehemently denounces the Jews for holding the Book of Esther in such high honour, and considers it his duty as a Christian to protest against it. Similar opinions are expressed by Riehm, Wildeboer,

critics, and believed in every syllable of our story. Therefore how could they have thought differently? Of what use would have been the Prophets, if the Jewish people had been exterminated? In their belief, the words of the Prophets and even the Pentateuch would have disappeared, if the Jewish people had not been saved by Mordecai and Esther. The Fathers of the Church, in declaring the Book of Esther canonical, reasoned exactly like the Rabbis: If there had not been Purim, Christianity would not have existed.

All the modern critics agree that our story was invented. Even Kautzsch, who is a moderate critic, is unable to find

Cornill, and others. They do not consider that Purim, according to the current conception, commemorates an historical event unequalled in the whole history of the Jews, their escape from complete annihilation, and 'all that a man hath will he give for his life'; therefore it is natural that the Book that records this event should be held in the highest esteem among the Jews. Even from a purely ethical point of view, this Book is not inferior to the other Scriptures, as it teaches the great lesson, not found in the latter, that Providence may rule the destiny of man by natural circumstances, without visible intervention; and this lesson was the hope and comfort of the Jews whose existence was extremely precarious during the last two millenniums. It is wrong to see in the celebration of Purim the spirit of revenge. The Jews do not rejoice at the hanging of Haman, but at their own escape, firmly believing that their own destruction would have been inevitable, if Haman had been left alive. Scholars ought to be more objective, put aside their personal sentiments, and be able to comprehend also the Jewish point of view in dealing with this Book. It is regrettable to find views such as are expressed by E. Bertheau, that in this Book we find that spirit of Israel which does not trust in God, but in its own power, and which refused to embrace Salvation when it came to them (*Die Bücher Esra, Nehemia, und Esther* by Bertheau-Ryssel, Leipzig, 1887, p. 375). Paton, *l. c.*, p. 97, observes: 'With the verdict of late Judaism modern Christians cannot agree'. But is this verdict the only point of disagreement between late Judaism and modern Christians? Do not the latter regard the whole Pentateuch as partly legendary, partly fabrication, and the secular history of Israel, in the main, untrustworthy?

an historical nucleus in it, and considers it romance.²⁷ Driver, who cannot be accused of prejudice, declares that 'it is not strictly historical, though it cannot reasonably be doubted that it has a substantially historical basis.'²⁸ There are only a few scholars who see in our story a really historical event.²⁹ Paulus Cassel's commentary,³⁰ notwithstanding its homiletic character and the numerous Christological remarks which have no bearing on the story, is full of sound judgement and contains a great many historical parallels and reminiscences which shed light on the events. It is a storehouse of real information. But it is extremely conservative, and sees in Mordecai and Esther the most splendid characters and heroes of Israel. One of the best attempts in recent years is Jampel's book cited above.³¹ With a great array of arguments he tries to prove that all the events narrated in Esther might have happened under the reign of Xerxes.

In the present writer's opinion, however, all the commentators have been on the wrong track. The facts, as already stated, were misrepresented in ancient times, and modern interpreters have placed the action in the wrong period. If we may depend upon undeniably historical facts, we are justified in contending that the Book of Esther is strictly historical. We even maintain that, if this book had never been written, historians might have found out that at the period in which we place this action the Jews were threatened with complete extermination. The question is not whether this event did happen,

²⁷ *Geschichte des Alt. Schrift.*, p. 116.

²⁸ An Introduction to the O. T., New York, 1898, p. 453.

²⁹ See the bibliography of the conservative treatises, marked with C, by Paton, *l. c.*, p. 113.

³⁰ *Das Buch Esther*, Berlin, 1891

³¹ See n. 25.

but how the Jews escaped the danger. The solution of this problem is presented in the Book of Esther.

The main event of the story actually happened under Persian rule, though not in the reign of Xerxes. The Jews had indeed been in danger of extermination, though not in the sense generally understood. Many of the statements our story contains find their support in historical facts. As for the others, they are absolutely credible as far as they are original. For this book was considerably interpolated at a later period. The reason is not hard to explain. We must bear in mind that the real danger impending over the Jews was a tempest in a teapot: the whole excitement did not last more than four days, in Susa as well as in all parts of the empire.³² With the death of Haman and the elevation of Mordecai, the condition of the Jews was no longer desperate. All the exegetes appear to have overlooked this fact. An event of this short duration did not make a lasting impression.³³ Its commemoration was no doubt annually observed by pious Jews. But the common people, after a few generations, may have neglected it, or may have feasted on Purim without caring about the origin of the festival.³⁴ They may have doubted the whole story, as Jews in prosperity soon forget troubles of former

³² By the splendid royal post under the Achaemenian rulers (see Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, III, p. 66 f.), the overthrow of Haman and the elevation of Mordecai must have been known to the officials everywhere, a few days after the arrival of Haman's edict.

³³ We shall see that there were religious persecutions, preceding Haman's decree, which lasted for several years. But these persecutions were of a sporadic character, as the rank and file of the Jews had not been affected by them (see Chapter VI).

³⁴ Numberless Jews in the present age are doing exactly the same, in enjoying the customary dishes prepared for certain festivals with great relish, without caring in the least for the religious character of the latter.

days, and as the danger could not reasonably be accounted for, it was looked upon as an incredible tale. The Jews did not remain untouched by the scepticism prevailing in the Alexandrian age. Living unmolested under the mild sway of the Lagidae and the first Seleucids, the Jews did not believe that a man like Haman had ever existed, or that a king should have decreed the extermination of their ancestors. The Book of Esther became popular with them under the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B. C. E.) and his successors, when they met everywhere with numerous men of the type of Haman intent upon destroying them. In those times of terror they looked for comfort to the Scriptures. They found only one book in which a similar event had been recorded—the Book of Esther. At that late period the actual events under Persian rule which had almost caused the destruction of the Jewish people were no longer known. Being now popular, this book became the favourite theme of the preachers and an object of special study. The teachers who had to explain it to the people made wrong interpretations, which subsequently were incorporated into the story. We may well assume that for the purpose of impressing upon the people the necessity of being united, and exhorting them to fight one for all and all for one, the preachers in their sermons took as their theme the decree of Haman, and explained to their congregations that the latter intended to exterminate all the Jews on account of a single individual. We know that the Jews of that period were unwilling to resist their enemies and to fight for their independence, and their leaders had to use any means for inducing them to do so by arousing their fear and hatred. To encourage the people to fight

their enemies without fear, the preachers told their congregations about the heroic deeds of their ancestors, who killed 75,000 men in one day without losing a single man. The Edomites, the hereditary enemies of Israel, were no less hostile at the time of the Maccabees, until conquered by Hyrcanus. Therefore Haman may by some witty preacher of the time have been made a descendant of Esau, by changing the gentile name *הבני* into *האנני*.³⁵ Paul Haupt is partly right in observing: 'The spirit of revenge that breathes through the Book of Esther and manifests itself in the celebration of Purim seems perfectly natural as soon as we know that the book was written during the period of the Maccabees, after the Syrians had committed unspeakable atrocities in Judaea.'³⁶ These interpretations were later inserted into the Hebrew text. The Alexandrian translator was unfamiliar with them.³⁷

When we understand the historical events which form the background of the story, the social and moral state of the Jews of the period, and the psychological motives of the chief figures, our story will be viewed in a different light: Mordecai and Esther will lose their nimbus, Haman his terror, and Ahasuerus's decree against the Jews will no more be ascribed to his imbecility. Words or passages

³⁵ See n. 8.

³⁶ *Purim*, Baltimore, 1906. This paper contains numerous ingenious suggestions. However, the theories advanced there for the origin of Purim and for the prototypes of Ahasuerus, Haman, Mordecai, and Esther are impossible, as Paton, *l.c.*, pp. 80-82, has already pointed out. But P. Haupt is the only modern critic who is absolutely fair in his treatment of this story. However, on some points he goes too far. The Jews in post-exilic times were never persecuted on account of their nationality; thus the persecutions of the Russian Jews do not present a parallel to those described in the Book of Esther.

³⁷ See Chapter II.

contradictory to our interpretation will easily be recognized as later additions. But we must draw a line between additions and changes due either to exegetes or to errors of copyists and changes owing to circumstances over which the Jews had no control. The name Ahasuerus, which is undoubtedly identical with Xerxes, had been substituted for the real name of the king, for obvious reasons. In the Eastern countries under the rule of the Arsacids, this change was made rather early; in the West at a later period, at the time of the fixing of the Canon. This fictitious name led the modern commentators astray. Those who gave credence to the story contended that Xerxes was quite capable of doing all the silly actions ascribed to Ahasuerus, and made more or less successful attempts at reconciling these events with the historical facts recorded by Herodotus. But the overwhelming majority of exegetes rightly rejected these forced interpretations. There is, indeed, no room for doubt that the Ahasuerus of Esther cannot be identical with Xerxes, as we hope to prove in the third chapter.

CHAPTER II

The improbability of Mordecai's genealogy—His access to the harem—
Haman's genealogy—The etymology of his proper and gentile names.

BEFORE proceeding to outline our own conception of the story of Esther, we consider it necessary to investigate some objections of a general character, though they have no bearing on our own interpretation. These objections, raised by all modern critics, appear to throw doubt on the veracity of the author of the book, and to betray a certain tendency to present an artificial contrast between two hostile races. Though others have already dealt with this subject, their conclusions are not quite satisfactory.

Esther
2. 5, 6.

(1) There is a chronological question of the highest importance. The author states: 'There was a certain Jew in Shushan the palace, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite; who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away'. According to this statement, Mordecai, as fellow captive of Jeconiah (= Jehoiachin), was carried into captivity in the year 597 B.C.E. Shall we then believe that 123 years later he became prime minister, in the 12th year of Xerxes' reign, in the year 474 B.C.E.? But those who raise this question do not entertain any doubt that Kish, the ancestor of Mordecai mentioned in his genealogy, is identical with the father of Saul, the first

king of Israel. Accordingly, the clause 'who had been carried away' (אשר הגלה) can only refer to Mordecai, and not to Kish. However, this identification is by no means certain and is indeed emphatically denied by Ibn Ezra.³⁸ Then there is no reason why this clause should not refer to Kish and not to Mordecai.³⁹ Wildeboer,⁴⁰ Siegfried,⁴¹ and many other modern commentators refuse to accept this explanation, as it would be against the Masoretic division, which places this clause at the beginning of the following verse. But they themselves often completely disregard the Masoretic text, and would be correct in doing so here. Cassel is right in observing: 'One cannot imagine it possible that biblical commentators should have hit upon

³⁸ Ibn Ezra *ad locum* remarks: 'If Kish, mentioned in Mordecai's genealogy, referred to the father of Saul, the author of Esther would have mentioned the latter, since he was king and not his father' (ואילו היה אביו (שאול היה מזכיר שאול כי הוא מלך ולא אביו). No notice has been taken of this reasonable observation by the modern critics.

³⁹ The relative clause אשר הגלה occurs also elsewhere, as 1 Chron. 5. 4-6, where אשר הגלה תגלת פלאסר refers to בארה בנו and Ezra 2. 1, where the clause אשר הגלה נבוכדנצר refers to the preceding noun הגולה and not to בני המדינה.

⁴⁰ *Die fünf Megillot*, in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, Freiburg i. B., 1898, 180.

⁴¹ In his commentary on Esther, *l. c.*, p. 148. We must consider that the chronological knowledge of the Masoretes was no more exact than that of the rabbis, who consider Mordecai a contemporary of Zerubbabel (see Chapter I, n. 16) and place the reign of Ahasuerus within the seventy years of the Babylonian Captivity. We may further presume that the Masoretes accepted in good faith the talmudic interpretation of the name מורכי = מורא דכי = 'pure myrrh' = מור דרור, and thus did not know that Mordecai was a purely Babylonian name. Therefore the Masoretes had no reason not to refer the clause אשר הגלה to Mordecai. The latter might have been carried away into captivity in his childhood, and was still alive in the period of this story. Besides, the Masoretes may have earnestly believed that Kish in Mordecai's genealogy referred to the father of Saul.

such a monstrosity, in referring the statement of Jeconiah's exile to Mordecai.⁴² Moreover, the purely Babylonian name that Mordecai bears evidently shows that the author did not intend to say that he was born in Jerusalem. We would have to assume that the Persian-Jewish author⁴³ did not know that Mordecai was a Babylonian name, at a time when the cult of Marduk was still in existence. Wildeboer asserts that the author clearly indicates that it was not his intention to give a real genealogy.⁴⁴ There is not the least ground for such an assertion, as the identification of Kish with the father of Saul is at least doubtful. Siegfried remarks; 'By the brevity of the genealogy, the author, in omitting a few members of it, skips over the times of Saul to Kish.' But did the author omit merely a few members

⁴² *Das Buch Esther*, p. 51.

⁴³ Seeing that our author was well informed on Persian manners and institutions, a fact that is almost generally conceded, and was well acquainted with the Persian language, a fact that only those critics deny who are not authorities on Persian philology, as Jampel truly remarks, we may safely assume that the author was not a Palestinian Jew. P. Haupt (*Purim*, p. 3; Critical Notes, p. 116) believes that he was a Persian Jew. In the present writer's opinion, however, the Book of Esther was written in Babylonia (see Chapter V); and at that period the Babylonian Jews were just as well acquainted with Persian manners, institutions, and language as were the Persian Jews. But Haupt from his own point of view must assume that the author was a Persian Jew, since he contends that Esther was written after the Maccabean period, and at that time Persian Jews only could have been so thoroughly acquainted with Persian manners, institutions, and language.

⁴⁴ Paton, *l.c.*, p. 167, concedes that Jair may have been the father of Mordecai. The reason for his concession seems to be, because he cannot discover an ancient bearer of this name among the Benjamites. Shimei, however, cannot have been the father of Jair, since there once existed a man belonging to the tribe of Benjamin whose name was Shimei son of Gera (2 Sam. 16. 6, &c.). Nor can Kish be the father of Shimei, since the same name was borne by the father of Saul. But there were four bearers of the name Shimei belonging to the tribe Reuben (1 Chron. 5. 4), Simeon

of this genealogy? From Mordecai to Kish would be at least fourteen generations,⁴⁵ and the author enumerates only three of them. But it is not impossible that the genealogy is not quite complete, and that between Mordecai and his exiled ancestor Kish there were a few more generations. We shall see that according to our conception the events of our story occurred about two hundred years after Jeconiah's exile, and we may reasonably doubt whether only three generations could have intervened between this period and that of Esther. For such a possibility we may point to Ezra's genealogy, in which his immediate ancestors are omitted.⁴⁶ A similar omission may be inferred in Mordecai's genealogy. We may suggest that they were men of a type whose names the biblical authors deemed unworthy to perpetuate, probably idolaters.⁴⁷

(*ibid.* 4. 26, 27), Levi (*ibid.* 6. 14 and 28), besides two others of the tribe of Benjamin (*ibid.* 8. 21; 1 Kings 4. 18). So also we find two bearers of the name of Kish, both Levites (1 Chron. 23. 21, &c.; 2 Chron. 29. 12). The genealogy of Mordecai given in the Second Targum, on which the contention of the modern critics is evidently based, is of course pure fiction, and badly invented, as from Mordecai to Kish it enumerates eleven generations, but from Kish to Benjamin twenty-eight generations.

⁴⁵ We find fourteen generations from Kish to the return from the Babylonian Captivity (1 Chron 8. 33-8). The same number we find from Zadok to Joshua (*ibid.* 5. 34-41).

⁴⁶ Cf. Ezra 7. 1; 1 Chron. 5. 40. Bertheau-Ryssel, in his commentary on Ezra, p. 88, believes that the author merely intended to show us that Ezra was a lineal descendant of high-priests, and therefore omitted his immediate progenitors who were not high-priests. But this explanation is improbable. The line of the high-priests was well known, since Joshua and his descendants still held this office. What we want to learn is Ezra's relationship to this high-priestly line, and this point is altogether omitted.

⁴⁷ We shall show (Chapter V) that Mordecai's family does not appear to have been strictly religious, and may have belonged to those noble Jewish families which continued idolatrous practices in Babylonia, before its conquest by the Persians. The same may hold true of numerous priests,

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2. 11.

(2) The author further states: 'And Mordecai walked every day before the court of the women's house, to know how Esther did, and what should become of her'. This statement is denied by most of the modern commentators, who regard as impossible that Mordecai should have been permitted free access to the harem without being a eunuch.⁴⁸ We freely admit that this is impossible, but impossibilities sometimes happen. One could never believe that prominent scholars and grammarians who know Hebrew pretty well should raise such an objection. The author does not say: 'Mordecai walked *in* the court of the women's house' (מרדכי מתהלך בחצר בית הנשים), but '*before* the court of the women's house' (לפני חצר בית הנשים). Mordecai did not enter the court of the harem, which no doubt was surrounded by a high wall, but walked outside of it, to inquire of the eunuchs about his adopted daughter. Many other Persians who had daughters there most likely did the same. Siegfried's sarcastic remark,

though Ezekiel seems to bear testimony that the 'sons of Zadok' kept themselves free from idolatry (Ezek. 44. 15). Some of them may have become corrupted after Ezekiel's death. The intermarriage of the sons of the high-priest Joshua with Gentiles shows that even the priests were not above reproach. Now there is a talmudic maxim that the names of irreligious men should not be recorded, based upon the verse וְשֵׁם רָשָׁעִים יִרָקַב 'the name of the wicked shall rot' (Prov. 10. 7). This verse is interpreted בְּשִׁמְיָהוּ מוֹסְקִינָן דְּלֹא, that we should not bring up their names (Talmud Babli, Yoma 38 b). Such a conception is not purely rabbinic, but is found also in the Bible; cf., for instance, Exod. 17. 14; Deut. 32. 27; Isa. 26. 14; Ps. 112. 6, &c.

⁴⁸ Th. Nöldeke (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1401), Wildeboer, Siegfried, in their commentaries, J. D. Prince (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, under 'Esther'), and many others. Haupt (Critical Notes, p. 135) suggests that Mordecai may have been a eunuch. But the passage: 'and speaking peace to all his seed', clearly indicates that Mordecai had children, and we would have to assume that he became a eunuch after he had raised a family.

‘The author does not trouble himself about the difficulty, how Mordecai could have shown himself in the court of the harem and converse with Esther’, is characteristic of his commentary.⁴⁹ Besides, Esther at the time of this event had not yet been in the real harem that was under the supervision of Shaashgaz. The virgins under Hegai, not yet being concubines, may have enjoyed the liberty of communicating with their relatives.⁵⁰

Esther
2. 8, 14.

(3) The author finally states: ‘After these things did king Ahasuerus promote Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, and advanced him, and set his seat above all the princes that were with him’. The commentators are by no means wrong in their arguments concerning the representation of Haman as descendant of Agag, in calling attention to the following points: (a) The statement that Haman was a descendant of Agag is in itself quite improbable. (b) It is incredible that the Persians should have tolerated the rule of an Agagite prime minister. (c) The representation of a racial contrast between the Benjamite Mordecai and his antagonist the Agagite Haman, renewing the ancient hereditary enmity between the Benjamite Saul and the Amalekite Agag, is too artificial to be regarded as an historical fact.⁵¹ The critics, however, do not seem to perceive that their arguments are

Esther
3. 1.

⁴⁹ The present writer is gratified to find that Haupt had already called Siegfried to account for his distortion of the truth, in observing: ‘The narrator, it may be supposed, knew more about Oriental manners and customs than did Siegfried. The author did not overlook the difficulty, but Siegfried overlooked יְהוּדִי’ (Critical Notes, p. 135). However, Siegfried merely repeated an old objection found by many earlier commentators.

⁵⁰ Paton, *l. c.*, p. 180, is also of the same opinion that the concubines under the custody of Shaashgaz were probably kept under stricter surveillance.

⁵¹ Wildeboer, Siegfried, &c., &c., and so also Paton, *l. c.*, p. 72.

not directed at the veracity of the author, but at a talmudic interpretation. They would never have thought of that contrast if Talmud, Midrash, and Targumin had not dwelt at length on it. It is well known that it is a pet fancy of the rabbis to represent all the enemies of the Jews, even Rome,⁵² as descendants of Esau—who had been wronged, but never committed any wrong in his lifetime—and it is still customary to designate any persecutor of the Jews as Esau. Characteristic in this respect is the Second Targum, which contains a complete genealogy of Haman, in which we find Greek and Latin names of oppressors of the Jews, and among them occur also those of king Herod and his father Antipater.⁵³ Hence it is obvious that the talmudic interpretation of *Agagī* is merely homiletic and should not be taken seriously.

However, for the sake of argument, let us admit that the gentile noun *Agagī* actually means 'descendant of Agag', and that accordingly the narrative indeed implies a contrast between two hostile races. The question now arises whether the narrative would have been less comprehensible without that contrast. Would there be a missing link in the narrative, if the gentile noun *Agagī* were entirely omitted? This question must certainly be answered in the negative. Nobody would presume to assert that the Greek version of Esther is not quite intelligible because it knows nothing about a racial contrast between Haman and Mordecai. This version further clearly furnishes proof that the gentile noun *האגגי* could not have been in the original Hebrew text, but was due to some interpreter, as

⁵² See Lewy's *Handwörterbuch zum Talmud und Midrasch*, under 'Edom'; and cf. Rashi on the passage *וְלֹאֵם מִלֶּאֶם יִמְיִן* (Gen. 25. 23).

⁵³ For the genealogy of Haman, see Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 83 f.

already suggested in Chapter I,⁵⁴ who intended to represent that racial contrast, after the story had been rendered into Greek. The Alexandrian translator was undoubtedly well acquainted with the Scriptures and thus knew who Agag was. If he had found the gentilic noun *הַבְּגִי* in his Hebrew text he certainly would have rendered it *Ἀγαγῆος*, not *Βουγῆος*.⁵⁵ There can scarcely be any doubt concerning the meaning of the latter term. The Persian word *baga* = 'God' is found in numerous Persian personal names, as for instance, *Bagaeus*, *Bagoas*, *Bagopates*, *Bagophanes*, *Bagosaces*, &c.⁵⁶ Therefore, if we find *Βουγῆος* as gentilic name of a *Persian*, in a narrative the scene of action of which is *Persia*, we may reasonably see in it the Persian element *baga* and assume that *Βουγῆος* = *Βαγῆος*. The same element no doubt occurs in the names of the eunuchs, *בְּנֵתָן* and *בְּנֵתָא*. The latter is rendered in the Greek version *Βουγαθάν* = *Βαγαθάν*. Paul Haupt's explanation of the Greek *Βουγῆος* as a Homeric term, 'braggart' is far fetched.⁵⁷ The fact that the Alexandrian translator was forced to substitute fictitious names for the genuine Persian names in the Hebrew text, evidently shows that he did not understand the Persian language. Nevertheless the gentilic noun *Βουγῆος* is genuine Persian. Therefore we may safely assume that the equivalent of this term in the Hebrew original was not *הַבְּגִי*, but *הַבְּגִי* 'the Bagoan'. A similar

⁵⁴ Cf. Chapter I, n. 8.

⁵⁵ Or the Alexandrian translator might have rendered it *Γαγῆος*, as did Lucian. The name Hegai usually rendered *Γαῖ* in the Greek version, is 2. 15 rendered *Γαγῆος*.

⁵⁶ See *Iranisches Namenbuch* by Ferdinand Justi, Marburg, 1895.

⁵⁷ *Purim*, p. 12; Critical Notes, p. 141. Haupt evidently overlooked that the element *βουγα* is also found in the eunuch's name *Βουγαθάν* (instead of Harbonah, 8. 9).

name is borne by one of the Jewish leaders who returned from exile with Zerubabel, זְרֻבָּבֶל, which the Septuagint correctly renders *Bayovai*.⁵⁸

Moreover, how could the Hebrew author have intended to say that Haman was a descendant of Agag? He undoubtedly was familiar with the Scriptures, and must have known that Agag's whole tribe had been exterminated by Saul; Agag himself was slain by Samuel,⁵⁹ and the other tribes of Amalek had been destroyed in the time of Hezekiah.⁶⁰ Is it conceivable that a Jewish author would have dared to contradict the Scriptures? Now it has been suggested that the author's intention in designating Haman as an Agagite was merely to characterize him as an inveterate persecutor of the Jews.⁶¹ But also this interpretation is improbable. The fact that Saul and the people, notwithstanding the divine command, spared Agag and did not wish to slay him, indicates that Agag personally was by no means a ruthless oppressor of Israel, but suffered mainly for the many wrongs committed by his ancestors and his tribes, as the Bible indeed informs us.⁶² Thus there is no reason why just his name should have been selected for the formation of an *appellativum*, given to Haman, as a great enemy of the Jews. If that was the intention of the author, he certainly would have

⁵⁸ Ezra 2. 2, &c.

⁵⁹ 1 Sam. 15. 134.

⁶⁰ 1 Chron. 4. 43.

⁶¹ So Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 84.

⁶² Graetz, in his *History of the Jews*, vol. I, p. 91, states that the Amalekite king Agag appears to have caused great trouble to the tribe of Judah in the days of Saul. Now there is no doubt that the Amalekites made predatory incursions into the Jewish territory on all occasions. They did the same in the periods of Ehud (Judges 3. 13) and of Gideon (*ibid.* 6. 3). The Midianites did exactly the same. The other neighbours of Israel, as the Philistines and Ammonites, were no less hostile to the Israelites than the Amalekites.

called Haman עמלקי.⁶³ We may therefore contend that there is no truth whatever in this interpretation, and that in the two words אגג and אגגי we merely have a similarity of sounds which is frequently deceptive. How fanciful identifications of this kind are, we can illustrate by identifying אגגי with the Babylonian word *agagu*, 'to be powerful', the Arabic أَجَّاج 'burning',⁶⁴ or even with Greek ἀγῶγα, 'leader.'

It has further been suggested, by Paul Haupt,⁶⁵ that the original reading of Haman's epithet was אגגי = *Gāgī*, in the sense of 'Northern barbarian', which was afterwards changed into אגג. This suggestion is based upon the Lucianic recension, which renders Haman's epithet אגגי into *Ἰωγαῖος*. But Lucian's recension was made towards the end of the third century C.E., and is either, as some contend, an independent translation from the Hebrew, or a recension of the old Greek version, in which the Hebrew text was used as well.⁶⁶ Josephus⁶⁷ and the Talmud undoubtedly read אגגי, and therefore it is exceedingly improbable that Lucian should have found in his Hebrew original the reading אגג. Furthermore, it is highly improbable that a gentilic noun *Gāgī*, derived from אגג, should ever have been written with א. Lucian may have found in his Hebrew text the reading אגגי, but being well aware of the fact that Haman could not have been a descendant of Agag, considered this term either a scribal error or an

⁶³ Similarly Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 84.

⁶⁴ The present writer, offering these etymologies *ad absurdum*, was surprised to see them seriously suggested by H. Winckler (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, p. 381).

⁶⁵ *Purim*, p. 14; Critical Notes, p. 141.

⁶⁶ See Jacob, *l. c.*, p. 260, and Paton, *l. c.*, p. 38.

⁶⁷ Josephus states that Haman was an Amalekite (see Chapter I, n. 10).

arbitrary corruption on the part of the Jewish scribes for the purpose of representing a contrast between the Benjamite Mordecai and the Agagite Haman, and therefore believed that the original term was גִּי, which he rendered Γωγαῖος. He even may have seen in the rendering Βουγαῖος of the Alexandrian version a corruption from Γωγαῖος or Γουγαῖος. But even according to Lucian's reading we have no reason for the assertion that the author's intention was to represent Haman as a northern barbarian. The land גִּי in Ezekiel's prophecies,⁶⁸ identical with Gāga in the Amarna Letters,⁶⁹ was undoubtedly situated in Armenia.⁷⁰ We know that this country became a part of Persia proper, where the Zoroastrian religion and the Persian language had been successfully introduced,⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ezek. 37. 2, &c.

⁶⁹ See H. Winckler's *Tell-El-Amarna Letters*, No. 5 (in Eb. Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. V).

⁷⁰ Gog is designated by Ezekiel: 'chief prince of Meshech and Tubal'. These nations are of course identical with the Mushki and Tabal. They belonged to the Hittites (see A. Jeremias, *The O. T. in the light of the Ancient East*, vol. I, p. 280). We know that Tabal dwelt in Lesser Armenia (cf. *ibid.*, p. 281), and the Mushki are everywhere in the Cuneiform inscriptions mentioned in connexion with Tabal and Urartu. In Xerxes's army against Greece we find both nations, Tabal and Mushki, under the names of Tibarenians and Moschians under one commander (Herodotus VII, 78). These nations are mentioned in Ezekiel with Togarmah, identical with Tilgarimu, which, according to Dillmann, Kiepert, and Friedr. Delitzsch, is situated in South-Western Armenia (Del., *Paradies*, p. 246). The principal state of these nations was Magog, which comprises Eastern and Western Armenia (*ibid.*, p. 247). Now the Hittites, to which evidently all these nations belong, were by no means barbarians, if we may judge by their monuments. Thus the assertion that Gog is a term used for 'northern barbarian' is unfounded.

⁷¹ Cf. J. Marquart's *Fundamente Israelitischer und Jüdischer Geschichte*, Göttingen, 1896, p. 38, and Hastings's *Encyclopaedia* under 'Armenia' (Zoroastrianism).

and where the Persian nobles possessed large estates.⁷² Therefore, Haman could have been of purely Persian origin and nevertheless be designated by the gentilic noun חַמָּנִי, because he was a native of the land of *Gōg*.

However, for the question, whether Haman was a foreigner or a Persian, we must consider, beside the gentilic חַמָּנִי, his own name and that of his father. We know what a prominent part *Haoma* (*Hōm*) plays in the Zoroastrian religion. It was the name of the guardian angel and of the holy plant used for sacrifices.⁷³ The names of *Haman* and his father *Hamdatha*, 'given by *Hōm*', are undoubtedly connected with *Haoma*. Cassel is even inclined to suggest that such holy names could only have been borne by priests, and that Haman and his father were Magians,⁷⁴ who were a tribe of the Medes. But Cassel goes perhaps too far in this assumption. We cannot see why names like *Bagadatha* 'given by God', and *Mithradatha*, 'given by Mithra', should be less holy than the former, and yet there are bearers of such names who did not belong to the priest-caste of the Magians. Such names could even have been borne by foreigners, as we see that one of the Jewish leaders bore the name חַמָּנִי, which, as has been suggested,⁷⁵ is a hypocoristicon of *Bagadatha* (= אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים?). Thus the Persian names which Haman and his father bore are no evidence that they were not of foreign descent. But

⁷² See Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte*, III, p. 138.

⁷³ Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson's *Zoroaster*, New York, 1899, pp. 25, 50, and Geldner's article 'Zoroaster', in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.

⁷⁴ Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 82.

⁷⁵ A. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 120. His suggestion that *Bagadatha* is a translation of *Jonathan* is improbable. Ed. Meyer (*Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 157, n. 2) thinks that *Bagadatha* and *Bagoi* are distinct Persian names, both derived from *baga*.

being a naturalized Persian, it is doubtful whether Haman's foreign descent would have lowered him in the eyes of the Persians and debarred him from occupying a high position.⁷⁶ Now it is true *Humma* or *Umma* is the name of an ancient Elamitic deity which occurs in numerous Elamitic proper names,⁷⁷ and we might see the same divine name in the names *Haman* and *Hamdatha*. We could therefore contend that Haman was by origin an Elamite. But who knows whether the divine elements *Hōm* and *Humma* are not identical? It would be a curious coincidence if *Hōm*, one of the chief deities in the religion of the Persians whose capital was in Elam, should not have some connexion with *Humma*, one of the chief Elamitic deities.⁷⁸ However, for the question under consideration it is quite irrelevant whether Haman was of Persian or Elamitic

⁷⁶ Herodotus VI, 41, states that the children of Metiochus son of Miltiades were accounted Persians, because their father had married a Persian woman.

⁷⁷ Cf. the Elamitic proper names *Ummanigash*, *Ummanaldasi*, *Teumman*, &c. But it is strange that we do not find the name of this deity among the names of the twenty gods enumerated by Ashurbanipal (cf. *KB.*, II, p. 205). However, the element *amman* is found in the compounded divine name *Am-ma-an-ka-si-bar*.

⁷⁸ *Haoma*, generally considered to be identical with Vedic *Soma* (cf. Geldner, *l.c.*). The Persians did not take over this deity from the Elamites. We may only question whether there were not early relations between the Elamitic and the Vedic religions. The racial affinity of the Elamites is still an open question. They may have been related to their neighbours, the Kassites. Now it has been observed that some of the Kassite names bear most striking resemblance to those of the Hittites, and especially to those of the stock of Mitani (cf. Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, pp. 44, 45). It has been further demonstrated that there were Aryan elements among the Hittite-Mitanni, as the Aryan deities *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Indra*, *Nasatya* occur in the Hittite documents found by H. Winckler in Boghaz-köi (*Mitt. d. Deutsch. Orient. Ges.*, Dec., 1907, p. 51). Thus there is a possibility that *Humma* is of Aryan origin and identical with the Vedic *Soma*.

origin, as at the period of our story there was hardly any difference between Persians and Elamites.⁷⁹

But the question whether the Persians would have submitted to being ruled by a foreigner—a question which concerns Mordecai's position as well as that of Haman—we can by no means answer in the negative, if it is true that Bagoas, the most powerful prime minister under Artaxerxes III and his successors, was a native of Egypt.⁸⁰ Thus the premises from which the conclusions under discussion are drawn do not stand the test of impartial research, and the objections of the modern critics do not invalidate the contention that the Book of Esther is historical.

⁷⁹ If Ahasuerus is to be identified with Xerxes, we may doubt whether the Elamites, who had rebelled against Darius I, and set up a king of their own (Behistun Inscription, Col. I, 29), were in the short period of about forty years completely assimilated to the Persians. But if our story happened much later, we may reasonably assume that at that time there was hardly any difference between Persians and Elamites.

⁸⁰ See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, under 'Bagoas'. However, the whole argument concerning the descent and the name of Haman is absurd, and it would be a waste of time and of labour to deal with it seriously, if it were not for the fact that all modern critics attribute to it so much importance and base upon it mythological or historical theories. Haman might have been of Amalekite origin and be nevertheless to all intents and purposes a real Persian. His ancestors might have lived in Persia for a long period, though his foreign descent was still known to the Jews—a fact that is of course quite improbable, but not impossible.

CHAPTER III

The author of Esther as an historian—The date of these events—The extent of the Persian empire—The coronation festivities—Xerxes' war with Greece—His queen Amestris—The Jews outside of the Persian empire—The diaspora—Jewish persecutions in post-exilic times—The improbability of Haman's decree—Xerxes' character—His attitude towards the Jews—The new possessions of Ahasuerus.

IF a book contains anachronisms, as do the Books of Daniel, Tobit, and Judith, we may doubt its historical character, since its author could not have committed errors of this kind if he had known the history of the period in which the events are said to have occurred. The author of the Book of Esther, however, is not guilty of anachronisms, and was well informed on Persian manners and institutions. Therefore, we have no reason to assume that his knowledge of Persian history was inferior to that of the Greek writers of his period. From this point of view we shall investigate the events of our story, and demonstrate that the Ahasuerus of Esther cannot be identical with Xerxes.

Esther 1. 1. (1) The story opens: 'Now it came to pass⁸¹ in the days

⁸¹ The Imperfect with *waw consecutivum* in וַיְהִי, that implies a preceding verb in the Perfect, and is always used in continuation of a historical narrative, is here correct. The Book of Esther continues the history of Israel, and thus forms a part of the other historical Books. The author does not intend to write the story of Ahasuerus, and presupposes that the reader is acquainted with the earlier history of this king, as Bertheau-Ryssel, *l. c.*, p. 379, strangely explains. Nor is the use of the Imperfect with *waw consecutivum* an imitation of the older histories, designed to suggest that Esther belongs to the same class of literature, as Paton, *l. c.*, p. 120 assumes.

of Ahasuerus, this is the Ahasuerus who reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over a hundred and seven and twenty provinces'.⁸² The intention of the author evidently was to give to the reader exact information concerning the king under whose reign the events narrated occurred.⁸³ He assumes that several Persian kings bearing that name are known to his readers—as Ibn Ezra explains—and therefore fixed the date by the additional remark, that the Ahasuerus of the story was that king who ruled from India to Ethiopia, and no other king bearing the same name, for the dominion of the other did not extend so far. If this king was Xerxes, there was no need to fix the date.

(2) The king of the story did not lose any of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces during the whole period of his reign. But Xerxes did lose a considerable part of Asia Minor, in the sixth and seventh years of his reign, as we

⁸² The identification of the term מדינה with 'satrapy' is decidedly wrong. The titles אהשרפנים, פחות, and שרי המדינות represent three classes of officials. The first were rulers of satrapies, as is well known, the second were governors of smaller territories, and the last were the governors of districts. The word מדינה is a derivation from דין 'to judge', and means 'the seat of a judge, judge's circuit'; and therefore in Arabic and Syriac the terms for 'city' are مَدِينَة and مَدِينَة. Judaea was a *Medinah*, not a satrapy. In a later period, Judea and Galilee were considered two different מדינות. Accordingly, there is no discrepancy between the author of Esther and Herodotus, who states that Darius I divided the Persian empire into twenty satrapies (III, 3). Cf. Keil, *l. c.*, p. 616, and Paton, *l. c.*, p. 123.

⁸³ Wildeboer, Driver, and others deduce from this passage that the reign of Ahasuerus lay in a past somewhat distant at the period of the author. But we ought to give the author credit for more sense. The latter evidently intended to present this story as an ancient document. Hence it is improbable that he should have expressed himself as if he intended to show that those events occurred in the distant past. Therefore it is obvious that his sole intention was to fix the date of that ruler under whose reign the story occurred.

know that most of the Greek territories became independent after the battles of Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale.⁸⁴ This fact seems to have been overlooked by all the exegetes.

Esther
1. 2, 3.

(3) The story continues: 'In those days, when the king Ahasuerus was sitting on the throne of his kingdom, which was in Shushan the palace, in the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces being before him'. In these passages the author seems to contradict himself. The clause, 'when the king Ahasuerus was sitting on the throne of his kingdom', evidently implies that this feast took place on the occasion of the king's accession to the throne, and immediately the author states that it occurred 'in the third year of his reign'. Hence it is obvious that the former clause can have no other meaning than 'when the king Ahasuerus was firmly established on the throne of his kingdom'.⁸⁵ Both the Alexandrian translator and Rashi felt this difficulty; the former therefore renders this clause *ὅτε ἐθρονίσθη βασιλεὺς* 'A. This phrase contains, as Jacob points out, the special Egyptian term for the coronation festivities of the Ptolemies.⁸⁶ Rashi explains this clause בידו המלכות 'when the kingdom was established, in his hand'. Both interpretations may mean the same. The author evidently intends to inform us that the king

⁸⁴ See Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte*, III, p. 416.

⁸⁵ Paton, *l. c.*, p. 124, observes: 'The language suggests the beginning of his reign, but 1. 3 says that it was in the third year'. H. Winckler (*Der Alte Orient und die Geschichtsforschung*, 1906, p. 21) thinks that this phrase means: 'when he ascended the throne'. H. Willrich, *l. c.*, p. 15, sees in this expression an official coronation that may have been celebrated three years after the accession of the king. But cf. Keil, *l. c.*, p. 617, and Bertheau-Ryssel, *l. c.*, p. 384.

⁸⁶ See Jacob, *l. c.*, p. 281.

of our story did not feel himself secure in the possession of his throne at the beginning of his reign. He must have had a rival who challenged his right to the throne. Therefore no festivities took place on his accession. But in the third year of his reign, after having defeated his rival, and being now generally recognized as legitimate ruler and thus firmly established on his throne, the king celebrated the event in the manner described. This was actually a coronation feast. If this interpretation is true, the king cannot be identified with Xerxes. The latter being the son of Darius and Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus the Great, his right to the throne, after his accession, was not contested—though during his father's lifetime there might have arisen a doubt whether Xerxes, who was born in the purple, or his elder brother should succeed to the throne.⁸⁷ There is no record that Xerxes had to assert his right to the succession against any claimant. None of his brothers rebelled against him.

(4) The events narrated in the second chapter of Esther could hardly have occurred between the third and seventh years of Xerxes' reign. He was at that time fully occupied with his preparations for the war against Greece. The advice of the courtiers seems to have been carried out in the sixth year. But Xerxes was at that time in Greece. The selection of Esther took place in the seventh year. But the testing of the other virgins, before Esther's turn came, must have lasted several months. We would have to assume that Xerxes at that time was already back from Sardis. Such an assumption is not impossible, but rather improbable.

(5) Esther could not have been the queen of Xerxes

⁸⁷ See Herodotus VII, 2. 3.

between the seventh and twelfth years of his reign, as the queen at that time was Amestris, and she cannot be identified with Esther.⁸⁸ We cannot accept Jampel's forced suggestion that Esther was not a real queen, but one of Xerxes' wives—not a concubine⁸⁹—as she is continually referred to as queen in our story. Moreover, according to a statement of Herodotus, Darius made an agreement with the six conspirators against Pseudo-Smerdis, stipulating that the king was to marry into no families except those of the conspirators.⁹⁰ If this statement be true, it is very improbable that this agreement was disregarded by the immediate successor of Darius. But history shows that kings hardly ever faithfully observe agreements made by distant ancestors with their subjects, and we may well imagine that this agreement was violated in a later period. Furthermore, if we may believe Herodotus, the Persian kings had a very convenient ancient law that decreed 'that the king of Persia might do whatever he pleased',⁹¹ which enabled them to set aside any law or agreement that interfered with their own pleasure.

Esther 3. 6. (6) The passage 'The Jews throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus', and similar expressions, apparently imply that at the period of our story there were Jews outside of the Persian empire. Herodotus does not know anything about the Jews.⁹² This fact alone is sufficient

⁸⁸ Amestris was the daughter of Otanes (cf. Herodotus IX, 109; Ctesias, *Persica* 20). Cf. Paton, *l. c.*, p. 71 f.

⁸⁹ Jampel, *l. c.*, p. 114.

⁹⁰ Herodotus III, 84.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* III, 31.

⁹² Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte*, III, p. 218) is evidently wrong in identifying the people which are designated by Herodotus II, 104 as *Ξύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ* with the Jews. Herodotus VII, 89 used the same designation for the Syrians who, along with the Phoenicians, furnished three hundred vessels for the war against Greece. This of course can refer only to those

evidence that no Jews lived at that time among the Greeks. Egypt was under the dominion of Persia during the reign of Xerxes. An assumption that Jews lived among the independent, savage Scythians is not to be considered. The only independent, civilized country where Jews might have settled was Carthage, and so far we have no record of the existence of Jews among the Carthaginians. Hence it is highly improbable that Jews existed outside of the Persian empire at the time of Xerxes.

(7) The passage 'There is a certain people scattered and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom' distinctly shows that the Jews at the period of our story had already settled in all parts of the Persian empire. If those events occurred under the reign of Xerxes, it is hardly credible that such a dispersion should have been accomplished in the relatively short space of about sixty years. However, this objection is not conclusive.⁹³ Esther 3.8.

(8) The main proof, however, that Ahasuerus cannot be identified with Xerxes, may be seen in the principal event of our story. If we are to believe that a Persian king had once decreed the destruction of the Jews, we must advance some plausible reason for such an action. Considering it from the point of view of all commentators, we encounter a monstrosity inconceivable to the human mind. Does it stand to reason that Haman, on account of a single individual, who had refused to pay him due homage, should have resolved to destroy a whole innocent race? Now

Syrians who inhabited the sea-coast, and the Jews in the Persian period were not inhabitants of the sea-coast.

⁹³ This problem is treated in the Appendix 'The Exiles of Judah and Israel'.

it is true, the bloody pages of Jewish history bear testimony to terrible persecutions of the Jews, in all ages, down to the present, through no fault of their own. But we must bear in mind that this hostile attitude was always caused by religious fanaticism and intolerance. In post-exilic times, the hatred against the Jews was never directed against the Jewish race, but against the Jewish religion. The Jew who became a pagan, or embraced Christianity or Islam, was in all countries and in all ages just as safe as one of the other races. It was always the aim of intolerant rulers to compel the Jews to abandon their exclusive position, and this task could not be accomplished except by means of persecution. We know that the Jews who abandoned their religion could attain to the highest dignity in the Christian hierarchy, even in the Dark Ages. But Haman's action is without a parallel in history. If he had been a religious fanatic, he would have compelled the Jews to abandon their religion, as did Antiochus Epiphanes.

However, let us admit that Haman was of an exceptional turn of mind, and desired to exterminate the whole Jewish race on account of Mordecai. But how can we believe that Xerxes was exactly of the same turn of mind and readily agreed to carry out his intentions? Jampel's suggestion that Xerxes was afraid of the Scythians, who frequently laid waste the country, and therefore believed that Haman's accusation referred to them,⁹⁴ is impossible. Who ever heard of enemies of this kind being destroyed by royal decrees? Xerxes might just as well have decreed the destruction of Greece! If the Scythian hordes had been so weak as to be destroyed by the people, they could

⁹⁴ Jampel, *l. c.*, p. 114.

not have inspired any fear. There was no need to ask special permission and offer a large amount of money for the destruction of enemies of this kind. If he had been afraid of these hordes, Xerxes would gladly have given anything to rid himself of them. Moreover, the words of Haman, 'scattered and dispersed in all the provinces of thy kingdom', distinctly indicate that he could not have referred to the Scythians, who were by no means scattered and dispersed in all the provinces, but came in large bodies from their steppes whenever they committed their depredations. It is also preposterous to assume that Xerxes could have decreed the extermination of a people without knowing their name. The testimony of classical authors, 'quoted by Jampel, that Xerxes was of very inferior intelligence, 'being a body without a soul', does not deserve any credence. The only authority for the personality of Xerxes is the honest, unbiased Herodotus—who, though he may in some cases have been misinformed, never distorted the truth. The profound remarks which Herodotus ascribes to Xerxes, no matter whether they are oratorical embellishments or not, indicate that he considered this king a man of intelligence. It is wrong to see in the scourging of the Hellespont a childish action, as is generally done by the commentators. Herodotus and the Greeks did not look upon it as childish, but as impious. It was a symbolic action, a chastisement of the Greek god Poseidon, whom Xerxes may have held to be a creature of Ahriman, according to his religious conception. This action was in some respect similar to the striking of the Red Sea and of the Rock by Moses. According to Herodotus, Cyrus punished the river Gyndes by dividing it into three hundred and sixty parts for a lesser cause, his

favourite horse having been drowned in it.⁹⁵ Xerxes was not inferior in intelligence to any of his successors. Curtius justly describes him as having had a deep sense of the dignity of the empire.⁹⁶ The Persians in later times may have depicted him as an incapable ruler, attributing to his incapacity the disgraceful defeats Persia suffered under his reign. But exegetes have no right to stamp Xerxes a fool for the purpose of confirming the veracity of the Book of Esther.

It has further been suggested by Jampel⁹⁷ that Xerxes' detestation of the Jews may have been caused by his religious fanaticism. Now there is no doubt that Xerxes was a fanatical adherent of the Zoroastrian religion, apparently more so than his father Darius. The former even removed the statue of Bel-Marduk from the Babylonian temple, an action which his father 'had not the hardihood to do', as Herodotus informs us.⁹⁸ It has been pointed out that Xerxes after the fourth year of his reign is no longer styled 'king of Babylon' in the Babylonian documents; for this title could only be borne by a king who seized the hand of Bel-Marduk on the New Year festival.⁹⁹ Though the action of Xerxes may have been a political measure and done for the purpose of abolishing the kingdom of Babylonia and uniting it with the Persian empire, and not with any religious motives, nevertheless Xerxes could

⁹⁵ Herodotus I, 189. Grote, in his *History of Greece*, IV, p. 284, does not doubt this narrative, though it has been said that Cyrus's real intention was to put this river out of his way in case he should find it necessary to cross it.

⁹⁶ In his *History of Greece*, II, p. 273.

⁹⁷ *L. c.*, p. 119.

⁹⁸ Herodotus I, 183.

⁹⁹ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, Halle, 1892, I, p. 474, and *Geschichte*, III, p. 130.

hardly have committed such a sacrilegious deed, if he had not been, as a true Zoroastrian, an inveterate enemy of the worship of idols. It has even been asserted that he destroyed Greek temples for the same reason.¹⁰⁰ This, however, is rather doubtful, as Herodotus states that on the day after the temple of Minerva was set on fire, Xerxes assembled all the Athenian exiles and bade them go into the temple and offer sacrifices after their own fashion.¹⁰¹ Xerxes would in all probability have destroyed the temples of his enemies, even if he had been an idolater. But the very fact that Xerxes was an ardent Zoroastrian is proof to the contrary, that he could not have been hostile to the Jews on account of their religion. We shall see that the latter were by no means averse to the Persian religion, as long as it remained in its purity, free from idolatrous representations. Both the Jewish and Zoroastrian religion were in the main points, superficially at least, alike, acknowledging only one God and having no idols.¹⁰² If Xerxes was an ardent Zoroastrian, he must have been favourably inclined towards the only non-Iranian subjects in his empire, who had a religion akin to that of the Persians, and readily acknowledged the divinity of Ahuramazda. As significant for his favourable attitude towards the Jews we consider

¹⁰⁰ Cf. G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. III, p. 254; IV, p. 241, and Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 82.

¹⁰¹ Herodotus VIII, 54. The fact that Xerxes destroyed Greek temples is no proof that he was opposed to the worship of idols. Herodotus VIII, 35 states that he intended to invade Delphos for the purpose of seizing the riches which were laid up there. It was a political measure lest the Greeks might use these treasures against him. For the same purpose he may have plundered the very rich temple of Apollo at Aboe, according to Herodotus VIII, 33. Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte*, III, p. 255) contends that Xerxes was not hostile towards the Greek gods.

¹⁰² See Chapter V.

the statement of Ezra, 'And in the days of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, they wrote an accusation against the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem.'¹⁰³ It is noteworthy that nothing is said about the result of this accusation.¹⁰⁴ It is evidently due to Xerxes' benevolent attitude towards the Jews that this accusation remained without result. Seeing that we cannot assign sufficient reasons for the danger of extermination impending over the Jews under the reign of Xerxes, it is obvious that the latter cannot be identified with the king of our story.

Esther
10. 1.

(9) There is a remarkable statement in the last chapter of our story: 'And the king Ahasuerus laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles of the sea'.¹⁰⁵ This passage has puzzled all commentators: What connexion may this trivial remark have with the preceding events? Cassel's ingenious explanation, that the king indemnified himself for the ten thousand talents he had lost in frustrating Haman's decree,¹⁰⁶ is impossible. The money that Haman promised was not a profit, but indemnification for the loss of Jewish taxes. Further, the king had renounced all

¹⁰³ Ezra 4. 6. Ahasuerus in this passage is undoubtedly Xerxes, not Cambyses. Cf. Keil, p. 442 and Bertheau-Ryssel, p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ Marquart, *l. c.*, p. 63, sees in this passage the gloss of an interpolator. But if the intention of the alleged interpolator was to give us some information about troubles of the Judeans under the reign of Xerxes, why does he stop with the accusation? This 'interpolator' was apparently a better historian than the author of the Book of Daniel, since he placed Ahasuerus between Darius I and Artaxerxes I. Siegfried, in his commentary on Ezra, p. 24, observes: 'The petition to Ahasuerus is missing. . . . But this gap is filled out by Ezra 2. 17-25'. But Ezra omits this passage altogether, and the verses 17-25 correspond, with the exception of the proper names, to the Hebrew text.

¹⁰⁵ See Keil, p. 658; Bertheau-Ryssel, p. 545; Wildeboer, p. 196; Siegfried, p. 175; Paton, p. 303, &c.

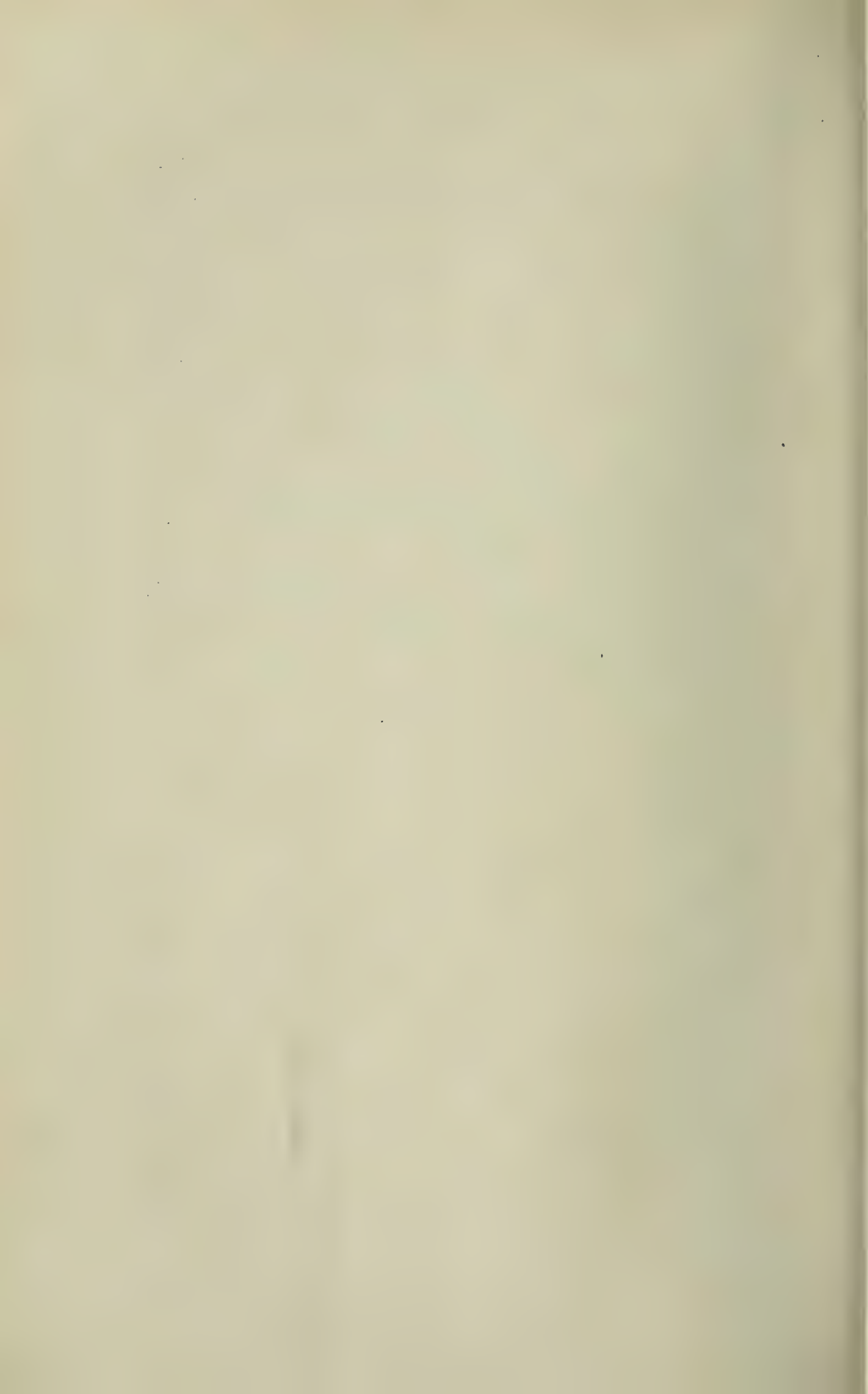
¹⁰⁶ Cassel, *l. c.*, p. 236.

claim to this money, in saying: 'The silver is given to thee'. Finally, the king had already indemnified himself by confiscating Haman's property.¹⁰⁷ The author evidently intended to inform the reader about the great statesmanship of Mordecai, that the king by following his counsel was very fortunate in his enterprises, and increased his dominions by acquiring a new land and isles on which he levied tribute.¹⁰⁸ But we know that Xerxes did not increase his empire; on the contrary, he lost the Greek cities and islands of Asia Minor, the whole of Thrace, and the greater part of Cyprus between the years 479-476 B.C.E., and never recovered them. Hence such a statement cannot refer to the reign of Xerxes.

¹⁰⁷ Though Ahasuerus made a present of it to Esther, the property of his wife was always at his disposal.

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Ezra, *ad locum*, is the only commentator who recognized the meaning of this passage.

(To be continued.)



STUDIES IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

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II

THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK * (concluded)

THE FIRST PERIOD OF DAVID'S REIGN OVER ALL ISRAEL.

87. THE section comprised by chs. 5-8 contains accounts of events, most, but not all, of which occurred in the first period of David's reign over all Israel. The section is the original work of our author, though here and there he seems to have incorporated some old material. Thus, for example, 5. 6-8 reads like an excerpt from an older source. Such excerpts may exist in other parts of ch. 5 and in ch. 8. The section may also contain here and there later additions. Such is, perhaps, the chronological notice in 5. 4-5 (cf. 1 Kings 2. 11), the expansion in 7. 22-4, and the statement in 8. 11-12.

88. (ch. 5.) Critics consider 5. 3 to be a duplicate of vers. 1-2. But the statement in ver. 3 is not identical with the statement in the two previous verses, but is rather its sequel and necessary consequence. The three verses describe the two stages of the transference of Saul's throne to David: first a popular embassy representing all the

* Concluded from vol. VIII, pp. 75 ff.

tribes that came to Hebron and offered the throne to David (vers. 1-2). When David had accepted the throne, the elders of Israel followed to Hebron, and concluded a covenant with David (cf. 2 Kings 11. 17 b), whereupon they anointed him as their king.

The critics may be right in declaring vers. 4-5 to be a later addition. On the other hand, vers. 13-16 may very well belong to our author, who sought to enhance the impression of David's prosperity and might by recounting the increase in his harem and the number of his sons (cf. above, § 82). Vers. 11-12 are held by some critics to belong to the latter part of David's reign, since Hiram is found to be still alive in the reign of Solomon. But it is quite possible that Hiram outlived David by many years. Further, the building of David's royal palace should in all probability be assigned to the earlier part of his residence in Jerusalem, when, as we are told in ver. 9 b, David was engaged in great building enterprises. And, as H. P. Smith observes (*op. cit.*, 289), the alliance between Hiram and David may have been directed against their common enemy, the Philistines, which would place its formation before the destruction of the Philistine power. That the statement in ver. 11 is true is rendered very probable by the express declaration in 1 Kings 5. 15 b (against S. A. Cook, *op. cit.*, 151).

89. Budde (*op. cit.*, 243) and his followers place vers. 17-25 immediately after ver. 3 (or ver. 5), vers. 6-12 after ch. 6. 1, and vers. 13-16 after ch. 8. 14. But we must reiterate the already oft-repeated question: How and why did the present arrangement arise? Further, it is quite evident that וַתִּקַּח in ver. 6 cannot refer to the levy of the 30,000 mentioned in ch. 6. 1, for the expression is almost

a technical term for David's veterans and immediate followers; cf. 2. 3; I 23. 5, 12, 13, &c.; 24. 3, 23; 27. 3, 8; 29. 2, 11; 30. 1, 3. A host of 30,000 would be described as *העם*, as in 6. 2, or *בית ישראל*, as in 6. 5. It is also very unlikely that David would have used such a vast host for the investment of Jerusalem.⁴³ Finally, if 6. 2 is the immediate continuation of 5. 12, then the phrase *וכל העם אשר אתו* will be without a direct antecedent, and quite obscure. Surely David did not keep with him 30,000 people throughout the events described in 5. 9-12. There can be no doubt whatever that 6. 2 is the immediate continuation of 6. 1. David raised that host in order to bring up the Ark with full military honours. For the military character of the Ark cf. 11. 11; I 4. 3; Num. 10. 35-6, &c.

90. As regards the transference of vers. 17-25 to ver. 3, we may remark that the critics repeat here the error which we have already noted before (§ 25, &c.), of forcing their own modern views upon the ancient writer. The modern view is, no doubt correctly, that the greatest achievement of David's reign was the subjugation of the Philistines, and that this achievement did more than anything else to consolidate his kingdom and to secure the national existence of Israel. But this need not necessarily have been the view of the ancient historian. In his time the Philistines were an insignificant people which had for generations been subject to Judah. It was therefore hard for him to realize fully the place which the Philistine struggle had occupied in the reigns of Saul and David. The conquest of Jerusalem, the building of Zion and of David's royal residence, and the acquisition by David of a large harem and so many sons, were, in the eyes of our author, of far

⁴³ Cf. H. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, 388.

greater consequence for the consolidation of David's throne, and a far more striking proof of the favour with which God regarded the accession of David (ver. 12) than the destruction of the power of the Philistines and their subjection to Israel. Hence the account of David's anointment over all Israel is followed immediately by the conquest of Jerusalem and the kindred achievements described in vers. 6-16, all of which are intended to illustrate the statements in vers. 10, 12.

91. There is also another good reason why our author did not follow the strict chronological order and place vers. 17 ff. immediately after ver. 3 (ver. 5). There is no doubt that the campaign described in vers. 17-21 must have taken place immediately after David's anointment in ver. 3. This is expressly stated in ver. 17 a a, where, moreover, there is no mention of the conquest of Jerusalem. Further, there is no doubt, as Wellhausen has rightly observed, that it is this campaign which is referred to in 23. 11 ff., and that *המצודה* in ver. 17 b is identical with the *מצודה* of Adullam mentioned in 23. 14. All this presupposes that David was still at Hebron. For had he been already at Jerusalem, he would certainly not have abandoned that strong fortress to take refuge in the wilds of the borderland. On the other hand, the second campaign described in vers. 22-5 must have taken place after the conquest of Jerusalem. For if, for some strategical reason unknown to us, the Philistines stationed themselves in the Valley of Rephaim for the first battle, it is very strange that they should have returned for the second battle to the same place of their great defeat, unless David had meanwhile occupied Jerusalem, and it had become important for them to dislodge him from his strong position. We may thus assume with

a certain degree of confidence that vers. 6-9, and perhaps also ver. 11, took place after the first campaign (vers. 17-21), and that ch. 6 took place some time later than the second campaign (vers. 22-5). Hence, the writer says in 6. 1: 'וַיִּסַּף (= וַיִּאֲסֹף) עוֹד ד' viz. after the levy raised for the war in 5. 22-5. But as the author was evidently unwilling to separate his two brief notices of David's wars against the Philistines by the insertion between them of other material of a different nature, he was therefore obliged to abandon the chronological order. And so he chose first to give his notice of the conquest of Jerusalem and of the related events in vers. 6-16, in order to illustrate David's prosperity and the favour shown him by God (vers. 10, 12), and then to give the accounts of the two Philistine campaigns together, and immediately after the story of the bringing up of the Ark (ch. 6), which, as we have remarked, followed the second Philistine campaign.

92. (ch. 7.) Chapter 7 is clearly the continuation of ch. 6. Having brought the Ark to Jerusalem, David wishes to erect for it a suitable habitation which might become the central sanctuary of the kingdom. Ver. 2 a refers back to 5. 11, and ver. 2 b to 6. 17. The use of the perfect consecutive with the verbs in vers. 9 b-11 proves that David was still in the earlier part of his reign, and that, therefore, the statement in ver. 1 b must be taken in a relative and not in an absolute sense. The facts that the prophet is represented as not being cognizant of God's real purpose (ver. 3), that the value of the Temple is rather minimized in the prophecy,⁴⁴ that the author is favourable to the Davidic dynasty and is ignorant of its decay and fall, all tend to prove the early age of our chapter. Hence

⁴⁴ Cf. R. Kittel in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift*³, 429.

we see no reason to deny its composition to our author. The style differs indeed from the rest of the book, but this may be due to the different character of the subject-matter, which demanded a certain conventional and standardized treatment—cf. our observation on I 12 (§ 42). The critics, however, are almost unanimous that the chapter is an interpolation, though they are far from unanimous on the question of its date, some regarding it as pre-Deuteronomic, others as post-Deuteronomic, and others again as exilic. Their view of its late origin is based chiefly on the assumption that vers. 12–15 refer to the long line of David's descendants, and not to a particular individual. As all prophecies are in the eyes of our critics *vaticinia post eventus*, it follows that this prophecy must have been written towards the end, or even after the end, of the Davidic dynasty. But the truth is that vers. 12–15 refer to no one else except to Solomon, cf. Yalkut, Rashi, and Kimhi, *ad loc.* This is plainly stated in ver. 13, and also reiterated in I Kings 5. 19; 8. 17–20, where Solomon is actually made to quote the language of our ver. 13 as referring to himself. Cf. also I Chron. 22. 9–10; 28. 6–7. In spite, however, of this weighty and decisive evidence, Wellhausen (*op. cit.*, 254–5) and his followers persist in their view, declaring v. 13 to be an interpolation based upon a mistaken exegesis of our prophecy. These critics claim to know the meaning of our Scriptures better than their authors themselves. It may be asked whether the passages in I Kings are also to be condemned as the work of an interpolator who followed the spurious ver. 13 of our chapter? Or, where else could the reiterated story of a prediction about Solomon building the Temple, given in the passages in the First of Kings quoted above,

have been derived from? Apart, however, from this external evidence so thoughtlessly impugned by the critics, it is plain from its use as a singular right throughout the passage, that *וְרַעַךְ* in ver. 12 is a real singular, and not a collective, and that, therefore, it must refer to one single individual, viz. Solomon.⁴⁵ If *וְרַעַךְ* had been intended as a collective plural it would have been used as a real plural in accordance with Hebrew idiom (see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*, § 145 b, and cf., for example, Gen. 15. 13, 14; 17. 7, 8, 9, &c.). Ver. 13 is obviously connected with the cited passages of 1 Kings, while ver. 14 points forward to 1 Kings 11. 11, 23, &c.; cf. 1 Chron. 22. 9; 28. 6. Psalms 89. 30-38; 132. 12 cannot be adduced as evidence for the correctness of the critics' interpretation of vers. 12, 15, for there the application of our prophecy to the Davidic dynasty is simply a case of poetic or homiletical licence. In the same way the Psalmist applies to David our ver. 14, which certainly does not refer to David himself (89. 27).

93. (ch. 8.) The author concludes his narrative of the first period of David's reign by a summary of David's conquests. As we shall show later, some of the events recorded in the brief paragraphs of this chapter really belong to the second period of David's reign, the story of which is given in chs. 9 ff. Our author, however, preferred placing them here rather than interpolating them in the document which he embodied in his book from chs. 9 ff. 8. 11-12 may perhaps be a later addition, like the similar addition in LXX to ver. 8, and 1 Chron. 8. 18; cf. 1 Chron. 29. 2 ff. Note also the late expression *כִּבֵּשׁ* in ver. 11.⁴⁶ Vers. 15-18 are not, as the critics hold, the

⁴⁵ For the application of *וְרַעַךְ* to one particular individual cf. Gen. 4. 25.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 255.

conclusion of a document of a life of David, any more than the parallel passage in 20. 23-6 is the conclusion of the document chs. 9-20. For, as it is generally admitted, chs. 9-20 are continued in 1 Kings, chs. 1-2. 8. 15-18 form only the conclusion to the history of the first period of David's reign, contained in chs. 5-8. In a similar way, 20. 23-6 forms the conclusion to the history of the second period of David's reign contained in chs. 9-20. Cf. also above, § 49, and below, § 108.

94. The critics hold that the Aramean campaign described in vers. 3-6 is identical with the campaign described in 10. 6 ff., and that our account here is really borrowed from ch. 10. The differences between the two accounts are explained by Budde (*op. cit.*, 250), in a characteristic fashion, as deliberate alterations (the more correct expression would be 'falsifications') by the redactor for the purpose of concealing the source of his narrative and the identity of the two accounts. Thus in 8. 2 Ammon—who was really the cause of the whole Aramean War, as stated in ch. 10—is altered into Moab, with whom David was really on the most friendly terms, as shown by I 22. 3. **בית רחוב** in vers. 3, 12 is a deliberate alteration for **בית רחוב**, 10. 6. The account of the defeat and conquest of Damascus (vers. 5-6), which is historically 'highly improbable', is a redactional substitution for the account of the subjugation of the trans-Euphratean Arameans in 10. 16-18. The homage of To'i in vers. 9-10 is transferred here from the end of ch. 10. And, finally, the redactor deliberately deleted the name of Hadad'ezer from 10. 6, in order to conceal the dependence of his own account in 8. 3 ff. on ch. 10. It will be seen that, according to this critic, the redactor has falsified names, fabricated a story of David's cruelty

towards his former friends and hosts, the Moabites, tampered with his documents, altered them, mutilated them, and transposed them at his own will and pleasure. He committed all these literary crimes with a view to hiding the identity or similarity of the two accounts in ch. 8 and ch. 10. Yet all his efforts have proved an absolute futility, for all his artifices and misdeeds have now been fully laid bare by this lynx-eyed critic.

Let us, however, examine the assertions of this and other critics, and see whether they are really justified.

95. It is alleged that Moab in ver. 2 is a wilful alteration for the original Ammon, since David could not have fought against the king of Moab, owing to their old friendship. Now, it is true that David's hostility towards the Moabites is rather surprising, and the ancients⁴⁷ already sought for an explanation of its cause. But our ignorance of the cause for this hostility does not justify us in tampering with our text, or in accusing its ancient author of deliberate falsification. There is no doubt that our text is correct. We know that Moab continued in a state of vassalage to Israel until the great rebellion of Mesh'a (cf. 2 Kings 1. 1; 3. 4 ff., and the Moabite Stone). As there is no mention anywhere in our historical documents of another war between Israel and Moab until the reign of Jehoram, we are bound to conclude that Moab had been reduced to subjection at the beginning of the Israelitish monarchy, a conclusion which is fully confirmed by the prophecy in Num. 24. 17. Saul's war against Moab (I 14. 47) does not seem to have been of a decisive character, since in I 22. 3-4 Moab is still found existing as an independent kingdom. It follows, therefore, that it

⁴⁷ Cf. *Bamidbar rabba*, ch. 14; Rashi and Qimhi, *ad loc.*

must have been David who destroyed Moab's independence as stated in our text. Cf. also 23. 20, which probably belongs to this campaign.

96. Again, we are told that בן רחוב is a deliberate substitution for בית רחוב. Does the critic assert that the original had this absurdity: ?הרעור ביה רחוב? And if we should go further and 'emend' it into מִבֵּית רחוב, there will still remain the difficulty that Hadad'ezer really belonged to Zobah and not to Beth Rehob. It may, however, be asked what is wrong with בֶּן רחוב? A personal name רחוב is found in Neh. 10. 12; cf. also the names רחבי, רחביה, רחבעם. The truth is that the critics must find fault with 'בית ר' in order to be able to identify it with בֶּן ר' in 10. 6 f. Further, we are told by Budde that the permanent occupation of Damascus by the Israelites is 'höchst unwahrscheinlich'. But our omniscient critic seems to have forgotten the clear statement in 1 Kings 11. 23-5, which fully corroborates the truth of our account that David had turned that ancient Syrian city into an Israelitish dependency.⁴⁸

97. The fact is that the Aramean campaign in this chapter is quite distinct from the one described in ch. 10, or, to be more precise, the campaign in 8. 3 ff. is really the sequel of the campaign of ch. 10. The origin of David's war against Hadad'ezer was the help the latter had offered to Ammon. The first campaign against him, described in ch. 10, resulted in the repeated defeat of himself and his

⁴⁸ This corroboration is not affected by the omission of LXX of אֲחָת in 1 Kings 11. 24. For it is evident from the context that the meaning of the passage is that the usurpation by Rezon of the throne of Damascus constituted an act of rebellion against Solomon, similar to that of Hadad the Edomite and Jeroboam the Ephraimite. Contrast Cheyne, *Ency. Bibl.*, I, 1028, n. 4.

vassals. The latter submitted to David and exchanged Hadad'ezer's suzerainty for that of David (10. 19). Hadad'ezer himself, though defeated, was not yet entirely broken. His final destruction David reserved for another opportunity, and this he found when Hadad'ezer undertook an expedition to the banks of the Euphrates.⁴⁹ It is this second campaign, resulting in the total defeat of Hadad'ezer and the subjugation of Damascus, which is described in our chapter.

98. The critics are surprised that the king of Zobah is not mentioned expressly in 10. 6, whereas in 10. 16 the name of Hadad'ezer is given, but without any epithet or description. They see in this also a proof of the activity of a dishonest or tampering redactor. But the explanation is quite simple. The omission of the mention of the king of Zobah in 10. 6 is due to the same cause as the omission of the mention of the king of Beth Rehob, viz. that, unlike the king of Ma'akah, these two kings did not accompany in person the mercenaries from their kingdoms who went to the help of Ammon. It would, therefore, have been incorrect to say that the Ammonites had hired the king of Beth Rehob and the king of Zobah. In 10. 16, however, it was Hadad'ezer himself who personally ordered the battle at Helam. He is, therefore, mentioned by name, but without any special epithet, since he is assumed to be already known to the reader from the author's own description in 8. 3.

⁴⁹ בלכתו in 8. 3 refers to Hadad'ezer, as rightly explained by Rashi and Kimhi.

THE SECOND PERIOD OF DAVID'S REIGN OVER ALL ISRAEL.

99. It is generally conceded ⁵⁰ that chs. 9-20, with their sequel in 1 Kings chs. 1 and 2, belong all to one document written by an author who was almost a contemporary of the men and events which he described. These chapters are closely interrelated. They also display a general uniformity of style and method of presentation and a unity of plan and conception. They seem to look at the events which they describe from a nearer perspective, and are undoubtedly older than other parts of our book. Hence we are led to the conclusion that our author incorporated this lengthy section from some older work, in the same way as he incorporated I 4-6; 9-10, 16, &c.

100. (ch. 9.) Budde and other critics maintain that ch. 9 is the sequel to 21. 1-14, for the inquiry of David in 9. 1 is only intelligible after the slaughter of Saul's house described in 21. 1-14. This view leads them to strike out 21. 7 as an interpolation and to place ch. 24 before 21. 1-14, and to delete 24. 1 a as a redactional link. The plain man, however, will on the contrary accept 21. 7 as sufficient proof that ch. 9 is earlier than 21. 1-14. The

⁵⁰ There are, however, some exceptions to this consensus of opinion. Thus, the integrity of the whole of ch. 12 has been challenged by Schwally (see below), and notably by A. S. Cook (*AJSL.*, XVI, 145-177). The latter seeks to apply the redactional hypothesis to the whole of this section, without, however, developing a coherent and self-consistent theory of the composition of these chapters. The evidence for his rather startling conclusion is often of a purely subjective character, and in flagrant contradiction to the express statements of the text. We, therefore, forbear from entering fully into a discussion of his arguments.

critics themselves would not have been forced to this arbitrary and violent procedure if they had not pressed unduly the literalness of the expression נותר in 9. 1. The expression is sufficiently explained by the slaughter of Saul and his sons at Gilboa and the murder of Ishbosheth. On the other hand, a little consideration will at once prove the baselessness of the critics' theory. In his search for victims for the Gibeonites, David must have made full inquiry for the descendants of Saul. The first person mentioned as a likely victim would no doubt have been Mephibosheth, who was the only direct male descendant of Saul. If so, how could David have remained ignorant of the existence of Mephibosheth until after the tragedy of 21. 1-14? We must also reject H. P. Smith's conjecture that 7. 1 stood originally at the head of our chapter. For 7. 1 is the natural and necessary introduction to 7. 2. Cf. also 7. 11: והניחתי לך מכל איבך.

101. (ch. 11.) Some critics assert that the story of David and Bathsheba was originally independent of the story of the siege of Rabbah. But from 11. 7, 11. 15 ff. it is plain that the incident occurred while Joab and the army were engaged on the prolonged siege of a certain city. We have a record only of one such siege, viz. the siege of Rabbah. If those critics do not believe the ancient writer (or 'redactor'), it is plainly their duty to tell us with what other siege the story is connected.

Wellhausen (*op. cit.*, 259) holds ver. 21 to be an interpolation because the reference to Abimelek in the mouth of the king is 'an unnecessary piece of historical erudition'. But it is difficult to see why as a practical tactician David should not have mentioned this striking example of the risk which the besiegers ran by approaching too close to

the enemy's wall.⁵¹ Further, the critic has forgotten that the speech given in these verses is put into David's mouth by the narrator (cf. above, § 69). If the critic denies David the right of showing his historical erudition, he cannot surely deny such a right to the historian. One cannot help suspecting that the real objection of our critic to this verse is that it proves the great antiquity of the narrative in Judges ch. 9.

102. (ch. 12.) F. Schwally (*ZATW.*, 1892, pp. 153 ff.), followed by H. P. Smith (*op. cit.*, 322) and by W. Nowack in his commentary, declares 12. 1-15 a to be a late interpolation of the same date as ch. 7, which, he says, 'had been assigned by authoritative critics to the age of Josiah'. The only argument, however, which he advances in support of this theory is that no reference to Nathan's prediction of the death of the child is to be found in the subsequent paragraphs, vers. 15 b ff. But seeing that the narrator was writing history and not a dissertation on the truth of prophetic prediction, it is hard to understand why he was bound to repeat the fact of Nathan's rebuke and prediction. On the other hand, how can one understand David's conduct in vers. 16 ff. without the foregoing paragraph? Let us concede, for argument's sake, that the view of this critic is correct, and that God did not find anybody in Israel brave

⁵¹ Mr. Cook (*ibid.*, 156) asks, how else was the city to be taken, unless the army approached the wall? Evidently the narrator knew of other means besides exposing the besiegers to attacks from the wall, such as famine, undermining, or night attacks. He also finds an inconsistency between ver. 15, where David commands that Uriah alone should be placed in a position of danger, and vers. 17, 24, where others fell along with Uriah. But it is evident that Joab was not able to carry out David's order literally (cf. ver. 24, *כִּי נָבְרוּ עָלָיו*), and he took the first opportunity he could find for bringing about Uriah's death, viz. during a sortie by the enemy.

enough to communicate to the king the divine displeasure at his criminal action. David, then, like other potentates in pagan and Christian lands, could, and actually did, commit adultery and murder without bringing on himself any remonstrance whatever from the religious leaders of the day. But surely he himself must have felt in the depth of his heart that his conduct was contrary even to the morality of the 'Jahvism' of his own day, however crude and inarticulate it may have been according to our critics. How, then, could David have had the effrontery to fast and to pray to God for the recovery of the adulterous child without having first obtained God's pardon for his crime? Schwally is surprised that David does not display in vers. 16 ff. the contrition and humility of a penitent. But assuming that David had not been rebuked, and had not repented and been pardoned, our surprise ought to be greater still that David should have been so completely unconscious of his terrible sin, and that he should not have recognized in the death of the child a punishment for his crime. David's repose of mind in vers. 16 ff. can be explained only by his previous repentance and the prophet's assurance of God's complete pardon.

103. Schwally is shocked by the worldly character of Nathan as displayed in 1 Kings ch. 1, and he therefore concludes that Nathan was not a prophet at all, but merely some intriguing and ambitious courtier. Only a later generation, when prophets had become so prominent in public life, had felt the need of having some prophet associated with David's reign, and so turned the worldly Nathan into a prophet, and ascribed to him the prophecies of our chapter and ch. 7. In consequence our critic boldly strikes out הנביא wherever it occurs as an epithet of Nathan

in 1 Kings 1. One may add that by such a method our critic might have gone further and theorized that Zadok was not a priest at all, and that the epithet הכהן applied to him side by side with הנביא applied to Nathan should be struck out as a late insertion. We will not cite as evidence ch. 7 and 12. 25, for the critic may reject it as insufficient to upset his critical hypothesis. But, we ask, if Nathan was not the great prophet of the day, what else was he? How did he secure the commanding position at David's court which we find him occupying in 1 Kings ch. 1? Why should Adonijah have invited him to his banquet along with Solomon, Zadok, and Benajah (1 Kings 1. 10, 26)? Why, moreover, should David have demanded his assistance at Solomon's anointment? (*ibid.*, vers. 32 ff.). One cannot help expressing one's astonishment at the superficiality and the frivolous scepticism displayed by such 'critical' theories, and one's amazement that such absurdities should be written, published, and copied by academic scholars of repute.

104. But Mr. A. S. Cook (*op. cit.*, 157) goes even further than his German *confrère*. He boldly declares the whole of 11. 27 b-12. 24 a, 25 to be an interpolation. The whole story of the death of the adulterous child is a pure fiction. The child did not die, but lived and grew up to become king over Israel in the person of the illustrious King Solomon. And so that great and wise king, the builder of the Temple, the recipient of divine revelations, the reputed author of two or three biblical books, who is one of the chief heroic figures in history, was really a bastard, conceived in adultery and murder! We refuse to believe it. We refuse to believe that the moral consciousness of Israel in that great age had sunk so low as to suffer,

without a protest, a person of such an origin to sit on the national throne.

105. Budde's conjecture that vers. 7 b-9 a α (to בעיני) is an interpolation has been shown by H. P. Smith (*op. cit.*, 324) to be without foundation. But it must be admitted that Nathan's speech has undergone some amplification. The terrible threat in vers. 11-12 is probably an insertion by a later scribe, who saw in 16. 21-2 a punishment for David's sin with Bathsheba. Further, the double mention in vers. 9-10 of Uriah's murder and of David's marrying his widow cannot be original. Smith (*ibid.*) regards את בויחני . . . אוריה (vers. 9 a β -10 b α) as an interpolation. But it is not likely that the prophet would fail to mention the murder of Uriah. It is true that there is nothing in the parable corresponding to this crime. In order to be quite parallel to the application, the parable should have stated that the rich man slew the poor man before taking possession of his lamb. But, on the other hand, it is not necessary that a parable should agree in detail with the application.⁵² Thus, for example, the parable of Jotham (Judges 9. 8-20) and the parable of the Prophet (1 Kings 20. 39-42) do not correspond in every particular with their applications. In order to fulfil its purpose and impress the hearer with its beauty and truth, the parable must be an independent story and capable of standing by itself. This would not be the case if it were to agree in all details with its application, and serve only as a mask to another story. In spite, therefore, of the absence in the parable of a parallel to Uriah's murder, we may be sure that the prophet mentioned this deed together with the rape of Bathsheba, but only once and not twice, as our present text has it. Hence

⁵² Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judges*, p. 245.

we conjecture that Nathan's speech in the application ended with ver. 9 a (to לאשה), and that ver. 9 b is really the continuation of ver. 10, erroneously transposed. The whole of ver. 10 *plus* 9 b is an interpolation similar to the following vers. 11-12. Note that ver. 10 b (כי בויתני . . .) is really a duplicate of ver. 9 a (בוית . . .). דבר should be omitted, with Lucian, as an anti-anthropomorphic paraphrase of 'ה,⁵³ and was probably added by the hand that inserted the threat in 10 a. We may add that it is rather surprising that the prophet makes no mention of David's adultery with Bathsheba prior to their legal marriage implied in לקחה לך לאשה.

106. (chs. 14-20.) There is no cogent reason for condemning 14. 26 as an interpolation. Our narrator is fond of such picturesque details, cf. 9. 10 b; 12. 30 a; 13. 18 a, &c. Moreover, the description of Absalom's personal beauty may be intended to explain his father's fondness for him (cf. 1 Kings 1. 6. See H. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, 338), and also the ease with which he gained the people's heart (15. 6). The richness of his hair may have been emphasized by the narrator as a preparation for 18. 9 b.⁵⁴ The mention of a royal standard weight is not necessarily a proof of the late origin of the passage. For even if we assume that the weight was of Babylonian origin, it is quite possible that the weight had been adopted in Canaan in the pre-Israelitish period. The originality of this description of Absalom's beauty is supported by the narrator's statement of the other pretender—Adonijah—ונם הוא טוב (1 Kings 1. 6), which evidently refers to the beauty

⁵³ דבר ה' is an exact reproduction of the Aramaic מִימְרָא דְהָא which is commonly employed in the Targumim to paraphrase the divine Name.

⁵⁴ Cf. Mishnah, *Soṭah*, I, 8.

of Absalom described in our verse. 14. 27 seems indeed to contradict 18. 18 a β . But it is hard to see how a later writer would have dared to insert such a contradictory statement without some explanation. Perhaps his three sons died before his rebellion.⁵⁵

107. 15. 24 must be taken, with the critics, as a gloss similar to I 6. 15. On the other hand, 18. 15 is undoubtedly original. There is no reason why a later writer should invent such a statement. It would seem that Absalom did not expire immediately,⁵⁶ and as Joab must have thought it dangerous to leave him to die slowly, he therefore ordered his armour-bearers to dispatch him at once. The fact that Joab is given here ten armour-bearers, as compared with the one possessed by Saul and Jonathan, need occasion no surprise. In the high state of development to which the military profession had attained in David's reign, it is quite possible that the commander-in-chief of the army was followed by ten young men of noble birth who acted as his pages or squires.

108. 20. 23-6 forms the conclusion of the story of the second period of David's reign, as 8. 16-18 formed the conclusion of the story of the first period (cf. above, § 93). Like those verses, our passage here must be by the author of our book, who broke off here with his borrowed document in order to give chs. 21 ff. Observe the addition to the list of officers of Adoram (ver. 24), who held his office till after the death of Solomon (1 Kings 12. 18), and must therefore have been appointed at the end of David's reign. Observe further that the sons of David, who had become discredited through the conduct of their brothers Amnon

⁵⁵ Cf. Babli Soṭah 11 a, and Ḳimḥi and Ralbag, *ad loc.*

⁵⁶ בלל אנשלוֹם in ver. 14, like בלל האלה, must not be taken literally.

and Absalom, no longer act as the king's domestic priests (cf. 8. 18 b), and their place is taken by עִירָא. It is also possible that שֵׁא is not to be identified with שְׂרִיָּה of 8. 17. These considerations confirm the view that our list here belongs to a later period than the one in 8. 16-18, and dispose of the theory of the critics that our passage is merely a redactional rehash of 8. 16-18. See also Sayce, *Early History of Hebrews*, p. 444.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES, chs. 21-4.

109. The last four chapters of our book consist of a series of six miscellaneous pieces, viz. (1) The story of the expiation of Saul's slaughter of the Gibeonites, 21. 1-14; (2) Exploits of four heroes of David against four champions of the Philistines, 21. 15-22; (3) David's Hymn of Triumph, ch. 22; (4) David's Oracle, 23. 1-7; (5) A list of David's heroes and some of their exploits, 23. 8-39; (6) David's census of the people and its consequences, ch. 24. It is generally agreed that (1) and (6) probably belong to one document, the latter being originally the continuation of the former, as is shown by 24. 1 a, which can refer only to the calamity in 21. 1. Likewise (2) and (5) belong together, and (3) and (4) are obviously also of a similar nature. Further, we may also accept the theory of the critics that 1 Kings ch. 1-2 belong to the same document as 2 Sam. chs. 9-20, the former being the direct continuation of the latter, though it is also quite possible that in the original document some other material intervened between 2 Sam. 20 and 1 Kings 1-2. But we cannot accept the view of the critics that the whole of this section comprised in chs. 21-4 was added by later hands as an appendix to the book after its separation from 1 Kings. The insertion

of the list of officers in 20. 23-6, which, as we have shown above, emanates from the author of our book who had incorporated into his work the old document, chs. 9-20, leads us to think that it was made of a set purpose, in order to mark a break in the narrative, and to prepare the reader for other accounts different in their source and nature from the preceding chapters. Hence we conclude that 21. 1-14 and its complement ch. 24 belong to our author. Whether these pieces are the author's original work, or have been borrowed by him from another document, it is impossible to decide with any degree of certainty. The subdued tone of these narratives and the mention in 21. 12 of מרחוב, instead of מחומת, as in I 31. 12, would lead one to the conclusion that they are not the author's own work. On the other hand, the parenthesis in 21. 2 b shows that the narrative is not very ancient. For an older writer would have thought it unnecessary to explain the character of the Gibeonites. It is not hard to explain why the author placed these narratives here, and not earlier in the book. 21. 7 shows that the famine took place after ch. 9 (cf. above, § 100). The author, therefore, had to place 21. 1-14 after ch. 9, but he probably did not like to interrupt the document, chs. 9-20, which he was transcribing into his own work, until he had reached a suitable place, viz. after the quelling of the rebellion of Absalom and Sheba'. Perhaps, as we have indicated above, ch. 21. 1 ff. took the place of some other narrative which stood in that document between 2 Sam. 20 and 1 Kings 1-2, and which our author failed to adopt into his own work.

110. 21. 1-14 and ch. 24 were torn asunder by the insertion of 21. 15-22, and its sequel 23. 8-39. The insertion of the exploits against the Philistines may have been

suggested by the mention of the Philistine victory over Saul in 21. 12 b. We are also inclined to think that the two poems, ch. 22 and 23. 1-17, were placed in their present position by the same hand which inserted 21. 15-22 and 23. 8-39. A scribe who did not shrink from tearing asunder 21. 1-14 and ch. 24 by the insertion of 21. 15-22; 23. 8-39 would surely not have had any compunction in separating his own description of David's heroes by the interpolation of chs. 22-23. 1-7. No doubt he thought that the most suitable place for the Hymn which celebrated David's victory over *all* his enemies (22. 1 b) was at the end of the book after all the accounts of David's wars against internal and external enemies, and after the description of the struggle against the Philistine champions, one of whom had actually sought to take David's own life (21. 16). The Oracle, with its promise of perpetuity and prosperity to David's dynasty (23. 5), was suggested by the concluding verse of the Hymn (22. 51).⁵⁷ It is also quite possible that the placing of the list of heroes (23. 8-39) after the poem was due to a pure accident. The interpolator may not have decided upon its incorporation until after he had already copied down the two poems. On the other hand, the whole insertion of 21. 15-23. 39 was placed where it stands, instead of at the end of ch. 24, because ch. 24 may have been considered a fitting conclusion to the whole book, since it closes with the divinely-ordained consecration of the site of the future Temple of Solomon, an act which in a later time was probably thought to have been the crowning achievement of David's career (cf. 1 Chron. 21. 3 ff.), and which at the same time served as an introduction to the story of Solomon's reign in 1 Kings. Finally, the

⁵⁷ Cf. *JQR.*, V, 201.

exploits against the Philistines (2I. 15 ff.) were not inserted earlier in the book, say after 5. 25—as Budde has done in his hotch-potch polychrome text—because the interpolator could not have placed there the Hymn in which, as we have said, David celebrated his triumph over all his enemies, Philistine as well as others, external as well as internal.

III. (ch. 2I.) 2I. 2 b-3 a α (to הַנִּבְעֵנִים) need not be an interpolation, as the critics assert. It may be merely an explanatory parenthesis by the author himself, similar to the parenthetical explanations in 4. 2 b f.; I 27. 8 b, &c. Ver. 12: מִרְחוֹב may show, as we have remarked above (§ 109), that our passage is from a document different from I 3I. It does not, however, involve a contradiction to I 3I. 12, since the bodies suspended from the wall (= בְּחוֹמַת I 3I. 10) must have faced the broad place in front of the wall (= מִרְחוֹב 2I. 12). Thus, both passages are quite correct and consistent. It is therefore quite possible that our passage here was incorporated into the book by the same author who wrote I 3I. The reading of the Targum for מִשׁוֹרָה, and of some codd. of LXX ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους = מִחוֹמַת for מִרְחוֹב, rests evidently on a deliberate correction.

II2. 2I. 15-22 is similar in its compressed annalistic style to 5. 17-25. It differs, however, from that passage in its contents, since it does not deal, like 5. 17-25, with David's wars against the Philistines, but only with the exploits of individual warriors. In other words, instead of a narrative of the Philistine wars, including as episodes also accounts of individual exploits subordinate to the account of the wars, we have here accounts of the exploits forming the principal theme, and the wars mentioned only as something subordinate, and as affording a background

to the exploits. For this reason it is very much to be doubted whether our passage ever had any connexion with 5. 17-25. It is certainly wrong to transfer our passage to the end of ch. 5 without first explaining how the passage became dislocated from its original position and transposed here.

For a discussion of the text of chs. 22-23. 7 cf. this REVIEW, vol. V, pp. 209-31.

113. (ch. 23.) Many critics think that 23. 13-17, which according to ver. 13 a describes an exploit by members of the Thirty, was placed in its present position by an error, and that the conclusion of ver. 12 is ver. 17 b: 'אלה עשו וכו' . But it is hard to see how the passage was so misplaced. Again, the שלשת הגברים in ver. 16 a are evidently identical with the שלשת הגברים in ver. 17 b, viz. the Three enumerated in vers. 8-11, so that the exploit of vers. 13-17 was performed not by members of the Thirty, but by the Three of vers. 8-11. It is, therefore, more probable that for שלשים (Kerê שלשה) in ver. 13 we should read השלשה or שלשתם, and omit מהשלשים as a corrupt dittography of the previous word. ראש may perhaps belong to קציר 'at the beginning of the harvest', as proposed by Budde. The original text would thus have read: (שלשתם or) וירדו השלשה ראש קציר ויבאו אל ר' . LXX and Peshiṭta omit ראש altogether, perhaps rightly.

114. The whole list contains thirty-six names, whereas the total is given in ver. 39 as thirty-seven. Various solutions have been offered to this difficulty (cf. also Kimḥi and Ralbag), but none can be deemed satisfactory. I conjecture that the name and achievements of one hero have fallen out by some accident after either ver. 19 or ver. 23. That hero may have been אחימלך החתי (I 26. 6) or אחי הנתי .

If so, there were really two sets of Three in addition to the Thirty (= Thirty-one). By adopting this conjecture we shall be able to retain the present text in vers. 18-19: 'Abishai . . . was the chief of השלשי (השלשה)', the second Three . . . ; 'he had a reputation בשלשה' among the first Three; (ver. 19) 'He was the most honourable of השלשה', the second Three; 'but did not attain to the rank of השלשה', the first Three.

115. (ch. 24.) The text of 24. 10-17 has been suspected by many critics. H. P. Smith rejects as interpolations ver. 10, because according to this verse 'David's repentance comes before his denunciation' (*op. cit.*, 390), and ver. 17, because 'ver. 18 joins immediately to ver. 16. . . . Neither in what follows nor in ver. 16 is any notice taken by Y" of this prayer' (*ibid.*, 391 f.). But as a matter of fact there was no denunciation at all by Gad, for the simple reason that no denunciation was necessary, since David was already conscious of his error before Gad had come to him. The prophet nowhere in the chapter tells David that he had sinned. It is David himself who cries הטאתי (vers. 10, 17). Budde re-arranges the text as follows: vers. 10, 11 b, 12, 13 b, 11 a, 13 a, 13 c (. . . עתה דע), 14, 15, 16 a, 17, 16 b, 18.⁵⁸ But we must ask the oft-repeated question: how did this complicated derangement arise, and from what cause? Further, a little consideration will show that the present wording of our text demands its present arrangement. If 11 b had followed immediately upon ver. 10, the statement would have been expressed in the usual fashion, thus: ויהי דבר ה' אל נר הנביא. The use of the pluperfect construction with היה shows that the event of the prophecy was anterior to some other event previously mentioned, viz.

⁵⁸ Cf. his text in Haupt's *SBOT.*, p. 35, and his notes, *ibid.*, p. 85.

to ver. 11 a; for the prophetic word had come to Gad during the night before David had arisen in the morning.⁵⁹ Again, if ver. 13 b had originally followed upon ver. 12, and had formed the exact wording of the divine message to Gad, it would not have been expressed in the form of three interrogative clauses, but rather in a simple enumeration of the three penalties, and would have been placed between ver. 12 a and ver. 12 b, thus: שלש אנכי נוטל עליך שבע שנים רעב בארצך שלשה חדשים . . . והוא רדפך ושלשת ימים דבר בארצך בחר לך אחת מהם וכו'. The present wording of ver. 13 b shows that it is really Gad's own paraphrase of the divine message. Again, the order ver. 16 a-16 b is certainly original. For the purpose of the writer is to show the favour which God showed the Holy City, that as soon as the angel stretched forth his hand to strike her, God repented Himself of His own accord, and before David had uttered his prayer in ver. 17. The truth is that the difficulties raised by the critics are only of their own making. The arrangement of our text is quite logical and consistent. In spite of the warnings and protests of Joab, who no doubt represented the prevailing public opinion,⁶⁰ with which David himself agreed in the depth of his heart, the king yet persisted in carrying out his object. But that object attained, the inevitable reaction set in, and the king was stricken with remorse for what he had done, and apparently in the night time he prayed to God for forgiveness (ver. 10). The same night, and before the king had risen in the morning, the prophet Gad was charged by God with a message to the king to choose one of three evils as a penalty

⁵⁹ Cf. Driver's note, *ad loc.*

⁶⁰ Cf. 1 Chron. 21. 6; Rashi here to vers. 5-6, and *Pesikta Rabbati*, ed. Friedmann, p. 43 b.

for his sin (vers. 11-13). David makes his choice, committing himself to the mercy of God (ver. 14). His trust in God was fully justified by the event. For as soon as the destroying angel had reached Jerusalem, and before the first of the three days had passed (ver. 15 a), God bethought Himself out of consideration for the Holy City (ver. 16). David, however, ignorant of the change in the divine purpose, offered up another prayer to spare the people (ver. 17). In answer to this second prayer Gad is again sent to him (ver. 18; cf. ver. 19 b), with a message from God, as he was sent to him before in answer to his first prayer (vers. 10-11).

116. Having now arrived at the end of our inquiry into the composition of our book, we will summarize the results we have obtained in the following table:

1. Author's original work:

I 1; 2. 11, 18-21, 26; 3; 4. 1 a (M. T.); 7. 2-17; 8; 10. 17-27; 11; 12; 14. 47-52; 15; 16; 18, 6 a β (... וְהַצִּיחָה)—8 a, 9, 12 a, 13-16, 20-21 a, 22-6 a, 27-9 a; 19; 20. 1 a; 21. 2-16; 22; 23; 24; 25. 1, 2-42 (?), 43-4; 27; 28. 1-2, 3-17, 19 a β (... וּמָחַר)—25; 29; 30; 31.

II 1. 1-18; 2. 1-9, 12-32; 3; 4; 5. 1-3, 4-5 (?), 10-25; 6; 7; 8. 1-10, 13-18; 20. 23-6; 21. 1-14 (?); 24 (?).

2. Old material incorporated by the author himself:

I 2. 12-17, 22-5, 27-31 a, 32-4, 35-6 (?); 4. 1 b-22; 5; 6. 1-14, 16-21; 7. 1; 9; 10. 1-16; 13. 2-23; 14. 1-46; 17. 1-11, 32-40, 42-8 a, 49, 51-4; 25. 2-42 (?); 26.

II 1. 19-27; 5. 6-9; 9; 10; 11; 12. 1-9 a, 13-31;
13; 14; 15. 1-23, 24 b-37; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20. 1-
22; 21. 1-14 (?); 24 (?).

3. Old additions found already in the archetype of LXX:

I 2. 1-10, 35-6 (?); 6. 15; 20. 1 b-42; 21. 1;
28. 18-19 a a.

II 2. 10-11; 5. 4-5 (?); 8. 11-12; 12. 9 b-12;
15. 24 a; 21. 15-22; 22; 23.

4. Late additions not found in archetype of LXX:

I 2. 22 b; 13. 1; 17. 12-14*, 15, 16-31*, 41, 48 b,
50, 55-8*; 18. 1-5*, 6 a, 8 b, 10-11*, 12 b, 17-19*,
21 b, 26 b, 29 b-30.⁶¹

⁶¹ Passages marked with an asterisk were derived by the interpolator from an old document. We have left out of consideration in this Conspectus the classification of certain disputed single words and phrases.*

MEGILLAT TAANIT AS A SOURCE FOR JEWISH CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

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CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF THE MEGILLAT TAANIT.

THE booklet, known as 'Megillat Taanit', gives a list of those days whereon, by reason of certain events therewith associated, Jews are not to fast. In most cases, brief reference is made to the events that severally mark them, while in a few instances nothing is said save that 'it is a Yom Tob whereon we are not to fast'. These days were semi-holidays, and their events were recorded in special scrolls to remind the people of these semi-festivals, which, on the other hand, were not to be put on a plane with the holidays ordained in the Pentateuch. To these semi-festivals the book of Judith refers when it says, 'Judith fasted all these days of her widowhood except the eves of Sabbaths, the Sabbaths, the days before new moons, the new moons, the holidays and days of rejoicing for the house of Israel', καὶ χαρμοσυνῶν οἴκου Ἰσραήλ (8. 6). It may be assumed that the present Megillat Taanit is one of a series of scrolls which circulated among the Jews in ancient times, commemorating important events in Jewish history. Megillat Taanit may properly be called the Jewish *monumentum aere perennius*.

It has no parallel in Hebrew historical literature. It is not written in the narrative vein of the Books of the Maccabees, but consists of a series of unconnected calendrical events, which are arranged according to the Hebrew dates and divided according to the Jewish calendar into twelve chapters corresponding to the twelve Hebrew months from Nisan to Adar.

The Megillah is written in Aramaic. In age, Megillat Taanit ranks next to the Scriptures, and is accorded great authority by the Tannaim, similar to that of the old Baraitot.¹ It is cited in the Mishnah, with the expression כתוב.² Of all the feast-days recorded in the Scroll, few are still observed. The other festivals have sunk into oblivion. This was quite natural. Their origin, as we

¹ Mishnah Taanit II (15b).

² It was considered of great authority by the sages of the Mishnah, so that the Tannaim of the first half of the second century were divided in their interpretation of it (Taanit, *ibid.* in the Mishnah). The Talmud Babli quotes the Megillah with the expression כתוב. In the Palestinian Talmud we find citations from the Megillah introduced by the expression תנא. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the expression תנא is not necessarily an allusion to Oral Law, but also to a written Law. The opinion that the Mishnah was not written down until the time of Rabbi Ashi, which is based on the use of תנא and תנן in connexion with Mishnah and Baraita, thus loses much of its strength. תנא was used in the Talmud in the same manner as יסר and תקן in the Middle Ages. That the Mishnah was written down can be seen from the expression which the Amoraim employed when emending a passage in the Mishnah, viz. חסורי מיחסרה, וזהבי קחני, thus implying a defective text, whereas the earlier Tannaim, like Rabbi Tarphon, used the expression שמע השומע וטעה. In the last mentioned case the word שמע implies oral tradition.

I wish to call attention here to a highly interesting variant which I found in a manuscript copy of the Tractate Abodah zarah (Spain, 1291) in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. For לגרסינהו in the printed edition, the manuscript reads מהא מכתבה כתביא (Ab. zarah 8b). That the Mishnah was written down even before the time of Rabbi, I shall fully demonstrate in a work on the History of the Oral Law.

shall see, was connected with the victories of the Jews over the Syrians in the Hasmonean period and over the Roman armies in the beginning of the 'War of Vespasian'. When, therefore, the Sanctuary was destroyed and Jewish independence lost, their *raison d'être* was gone. Thus in the days of Rabbi Joshua, not long after the destruction of the Temple, we find that the people paid no attention to these holidays. They even decreed a fast on Hanukkah (Rosh ha-Shanah 18 b). And this is in agreement with the statement of Rabbi Jose: 'Since the Temple is laid waste it is permissible to fast on the festive days which are enumerated in this Scroll' אין בית המקדש קיים מותרין מפני שאכל' הוא להם. However, these semi-holidays were not formally abrogated by the rabbis. They gradually disappeared from the practices of the people, and this led to the discussion between Rab and Hanina, and their colleagues R. Johanan and R. Joshua ben Levi, as to whether the Yamim Tobim in the 'Megillah' are abrogated.³

In the course of this work it will be shown that the last event chronicled in our Megillah is that which took place on the 17th of Adar, 66 C.E. After this, Vespasian overcame all resistance in Galilee, and with the conclusion of the war the Jewish people lost its autonomy. This accords well with the date and circumstances of its composition which are preserved in a talmudic tradition. 'It was written', says the Talmud,⁴ 'by the colleagues of [R. Eleazar ben] Hanina ben Hezekiah ben Garon', i.e. a few years before the destruction of the Second Temple. Eleazar was the leader of the Rebellion, whom Josephus charges with having incited the people against the Romans.

³ Rosh ha-Shanah 18 b.

⁴ Shabbat 13 b. See the next note.

His object in circulating this Scroll was to show to the people that if they were fully resolved to throw off the yoke of the Romans they had as great prospect of success as the Hasmoneans and their followers had of throwing off the yoke of the Syrians.

This is corroborated by what the Talmud⁵ says of its being compiled by חנינה וסיעתו [אלעזר בן], i. e. by Eleazar and his associates who were leaders of the party in favour of the war against the Romans.

The name by which we are accustomed to designate this book—'Megillat Taanit'—is indeed a misnomer, since it does not discuss Fasts; on the contrary, it points out certain days commemorative of joyful events and, declaring them 'Yom Tob', prohibits fasting thereon. It seems to me that the name 'Megillat Taanit' is of a later date, belonging either to the talmudic or post-talmudic period. Originally this book appears to have been called simply 'Megillah' (scroll or roll), and in this wise is referred to in the Mishnah. Thus in the Palestinian version of the Mishnah (Taanit 2) and in the Mishnah of Jerusalem (ed. W. H. Lowe, 1883) we meet with the expression כל הכתוב במגילה.⁶

This theory as to the original name of Megillat Taanit is corroborated through a scribal error which is revealed

⁵ Shabbat 13 b. According to the Scholiast, it was 'ע"י סיעתו של ר' אליעזר בן חנניה בן חזקיה בן גרון. In Halakot Gedolot, p. 615 (ed. Hildesheimer) it is stated that this Megillah was written by the elders of Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel הם כתבו מגילת חנניה בעליה אלעזר בן חנניה בן חזקיה בן גרון כשעלו לבקר. See Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1812, note 1, and Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III⁶, part 2, p. 810.

⁶ See *Dikduke Soferim*, Taanit, II, 1, and *ibid.*, 17 a where the manuscript reading of the Talmud Babli too is given as כל הכתוב במגילה; the same is the reading of the Bodleian MS. Cf. also Tosefta (ed. Zuckermann) Taanit 2, 4 : לימים טובים הכתובין במגילה.

in the Munich MS. For Talmud Babli (Megillah 5b) which reads והכתיב במגילת תענית את יום ארבעה עשר ואת יום במגילת אסתר, the Munich MS. reads במגילת אסתר את יום ארבעה עשר ואת יום חמשה עשר. This is a palpable error, since the passage, 'The fourteenth and fifteenth are יומי פורים', is not quoted from the biblical scroll of Esther, but from the so-called 'Megillat Taanit'. This error is best explained by the assumption that the original text of the copyist read במגילה, which, owing to the context, he assumed, referred to the well-known biblical Scroll of Esther.

Besides the Aramaic text of the Megillah, there exists also a running commentary, or scholia, in Mishnic Hebrew, explaining the events which are mentioned in the Megillah. These scholia, all commentators are agreed, are the product of the Talmudic period.⁷ That we cannot rely on the scholiast where he gives us what purports to be the historical cause⁸ will be fully demonstrated in the course of this study.

⁷ Weiss, *Dor Dor we Dorshaw*, II, p. xxv.

⁸ Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, pp. 56-63.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY IN MACCABEES I AND II.

A CURSORY examination of the Megillah reveals clearly that some of the events which are there referred to belong to the Maccabean period, and some are connected with the Great Revolt. The Books of the Maccabees and the works of Josephus are therefore the primary sources upon which the student must rely in order to determine the true character of the dates and events which are mentioned in the Megillah. Unfortunately, however, the dates mentioned in these books are based on different systems of chronology and cannot be readily identified. Before we can solve the many perplexing identifications of the dates of the Megillah, we shall therefore have to examine critically the respective chronological systems of the first and second Books of the Maccabees and of the *Bellum Iudaicum*.

It is well known that there exists a discrepancy of one year between the First and Second Book of Maccabees.⁹ In both books of Maccabees the chronology is apparently based on the Seleucid era. In 1 Macc. (1. 10) this is

⁹ According to 1 Macc., Antiochus Eupator laid siege to Jerusalem in the year 150 (6. 20-61; cp. 7. 1), while according to 2 Macc. (13. 1), this siege and the peace were in the year 149. Similarly, according to 1 Macc. (6. 16) Antiochus IV died in 149, while according to 2 Macc. (9. 28) he died in 148. (Compare 2 Macc. 11 which contains the letters of Antiochus Eupator to the Jews, and while the letter in which reference is made to the recent death of his father (Antiochus IV) contains no date, still the presumption is that like the others, which are dated, it was written in 148.)

clearly: Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής, υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν ὁμηρα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐβδόμῳ βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων. The current opinion is that the chronology of 1 Maccabees takes as its starting-point Nisan 312 B. C. E., while that of 2 Maccabees starts from Tishri 311 B. C. E.¹⁰ The view that 1 Maccabees reckons the beginning of the Seleucid era from the spring of 312 is of course at variance with the established fact that the Seleucid era dates from the fall of 312 B. C. E.¹¹ Nevertheless, this theory was forced upon scholars by the following circumstantial evidence. According to 1 Macc. (6. 20, cp. 7. 1) Antiochus V and Lysias with their army besieged the Temple mount in 150 A. S., and it is further explained that the Jews were at great disadvantage in the siege, having naught to eat by reason of that being the sabbatical year (ὅτι σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῇ... διὰ τὸ ἔβδομον ἔτος εἶναι, 6. 49-53). Now, the sabbatical

¹⁰ See Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum*, lib. V; Dionysius Petavius, *De Doctrina Temp.*, lib. II; Usher, *Annal. Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, II, London, 1654; Noris, *Epoch Syromac.*, p. 75, 1696; Erasmo Froelich, *Annales Compendiarii Regum et rerum Syriae*, Prolegomena, Viennae, 1754; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, pp. 531-4, Berlin, 1825; Schürer, *Geschichte*, 32-40. Unger, 'Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher' (*Sitzungsberichte der Philos.-Philol.-Hist. Cl. der k. b. Akademie der Wiss. zu München*, 1895) thinks that the chronology of 1 and 2 Maccabees takes as its *terminus a quo* the spring of 311 B. C. See also Gilbert, 'Mémoire sur la chronologie de l'histoire des Machabées' (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXVI, 1759); Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, pp. 370-7. According to him the era in both books starts from the autumn of 312 B. C.

¹¹ This is also the opinion expressed by Prideaux, *Connexion*, I, p. 514-15, 'The first book begins the years of this era from the spring, but the second begins them from the autumn; and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and all others that anciently did or now do use this era'. It is very strange that the author of the first book of Maccabees should have computed this era by a method different even from his own countrymen, the Jews.

year was from Tishri 1, 164 B.C.E. to Tishri 1, 163.¹² Hence if the chronology of 1 Maccabees took Tishri of 312 as its starting-point, then 150 A.S. corresponded with Tishri 163 to Tishri 162, and the year of the siege which was 150 A.S. could not have been a sabbatical year. If, on the other hand, it is assumed that the chronology of 1 Maccabees takes Nisan (312) as its starting-point, then 150 A.S. corresponds to the period from Nisan 163 B.C.E. until Nisan 162 B.C.E., and the summer of 163 B.C.E. actually falls in the sabbatical year. Thus the siege can be definitely placed in that summer.¹³

The chronology of 2 Maccabees is postponed one year beyond that of 1 Maccabees. If 1 Maccabees reckons its era from Nisan 312, then the chronology of 2 Maccabees must have begun from 311 B.C.E. This era, however, could not have started from the spring of 311, but from the autumn of 311, as is clearly proved from the letters of Antiochus V (2 Macc. 11. 17-33). One of these letters is dated in the month of Dioscurus of the year 148, while another of later date is marked Xanthicus of the year 148—which shows that the era of the chronology of 2 Maccabees did not begin from the spring, Xanthicus, but from the autumn—i. e. Tishri 311 B.C.E.¹⁴

This theory, however, is not acceptable. For among the Jews, the beginning of the civil year was always reckoned not from Nisan, but from Tishri. Thus the tradition was fixed באחד בהשרי ראש השנה לשנים 'from the first day of Tishri, the beginning of the year is reckoned.'¹⁵

¹² Schürer, *l. c.*, p. 35; see also below, chap. III.

¹³ Schürer, *l. c.*, p. 214. About the other difficulties see below, note 27.

¹⁴ See further Ideler, *Handbuch*, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Rosh ha-Shanah, p. 2. Josephus (I have employed Niese's edition throughout) likewise tells us that with respect to months, holidays, and

The former theory could only with difficulty be reconciled with the chronography of 1 Maccabees. For according to 1 Macc. 16. 14, Simon the Hasmonean was killed in the year 177 A.S. in the month of Shebat. Now if the Seleucid era in 1 Maccabees began from Nisan 312 B.C., then the month in which Simon was killed would fall in the year 135 B.C.E.; the year 177 extending from Nisan 136 to Nisan 135. But according to the account of Josephus (*Ant.* XIII, 8. 1-2, cp. XIII, 7. 4) the year after Simon's death was a sabbatical year, and that sabbatical year was Tishri 136 to Tishri 135.¹⁶ Again, according to this theory, the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus V, which, according to 1 Maccabees, occurred in 150 A.S. and which is described as a sabbatical year, must be dated in the summer of 163 B.C.E. (cp. above, p. 78), and this is opposed by the Megillah which, if our interpretation is correct, dates the raising of this siege specifically on the 28th of Shebat (see below, chap. IX, No. VIII, p. 70).

I venture to suggest a new solution to the chronological difficulties of 1 Maccabees. The reckoning of the Seleucid era has its origin, as is well known, in the victory gained by Demetrius over Ptolemy near Gaza, at which time the Seleucid dynasty was founded. That battle was fought in the summer of 312 B.C.E., for in the words of Josephus

festivals, Moses commanded that the year should be counted from Nisan (spring), but in connexion with matters of business and general affairs, the year should be counted from Tishri. *Antt.* I, 3. 3 Συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἑξακισιοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη Νώεον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δ' ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισῶν, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών. οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἦρχεν. ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράξεις καὶ ὧνάς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε.

¹⁶ Schürer, I, p. 35; see also below, chap. III.

(*Contra Apionem*, I, 22, 184), following Castor, this battle took place in the eleventh year after Alexander died—ἐνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, . . . ὥς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ. Alexander the Great died in May or June 323 B. C. E.,¹⁷ and the eleventh year closed, then, in the latter part of May or June 312 B. C. E.¹⁸ All the cities in the countries around the Holy Land adopted the year of the battle, which established the rule of the Seleucids as a new era, but fixed the beginning of the year according to the traditional New Year season which had prevailed in the respective countries. For instance, in Damascus they counted the years of the Seleucid era from the spring of 312 B. C. E., as can be seen on their coins;¹⁹ while other cities counted their era from Hyperberetaeus or from Dius.²⁰ It was quite natural, therefore, for the Jews, too, when they adopted this era to arrange it in accordance with their traditional New Year and their methods of calendrical calculations. The interval from the coronation of the king until Nisan was counted as year one of his reign; and from that Nisan to the next Nisan as year

¹⁷ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II, p. 176.

¹⁸ Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II, p. 45.

¹⁹ Schürer, I, 37.

²⁰ Ideler, *l. c.*, I, 413-37. Many cities under Roman influence began their years in the Seleucid era from the month of January. Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 452. According to Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III, pp. 364, 91, Eusebius, while dating from the origin of the Seleucide dynasty, in effect puts it January 312 B. C. Unger, *Die Seleukidenära der Makkabäerbücher*, *l. c.*, pp. 300-316, thinks that many cities counted their years from October 313, and so likewise Porphyry reckoned the years of Olympiads—not from the month of July 776 B. C., which was the first Olympiad, but from Dius 777 B. C. (Unger, *l. c.*, p. 300); and so does Josephus reckon the years in connexion with Olympiads in his *Antiquities*. See more about this below, chap. IV.

two.²¹ Anniversaries and births which were dated not from Nisan but from Tishri²² illustrate the same principle. If, for example, a person was born in the course of the year, the rest of that year up to Tishri was considered the first year of his life; from that Tishri to the next Tishri his second year.²³

When, therefore, the Jews adopted the calendar of the Seleucidan era, they moulded it to their view-point; that is to say, the New Year date was retained as the first of Tishri, but Tishri 312 B.C.E. marked the beginning of the second year of the newly-established era, the interval from the summer when the battle of Gaza was fought until Tishri 312 B.C.E., being counted as year one of the era.

1 Maccabees, written for Jews, in Hebrew and²⁴ in Palestine, used the chronology of Judea. Thus we can now harmonize the date of Simon's death, given in 1 Maccabees, as 177 A.S., with the account of Josephus describing the year following Simon's death as a sabbatical year. For Shebat 177 A.S. corresponds to Shebat 136 B.C.E., while the sabbatical year began on the following New Year, Tishri 136 B.C.E.²⁵ Likewise, the date of the Megillah, which places the siege of Antiochus V in the winter months,²⁶ becomes tenable; for the year 150 A.S. corre-

²¹ Rosh ha-Shanah 10 b.

²² Rosh ha-Shanah, Mishnah, Jerushalmi, *ibid.* 56 b. See also above, note 15. And this is what the Talmud says: חכמי ישראל מונים למבול כר' אליעזר, *ibid.*, 12 a. 'They counted the years of the successive generations from the month of Tishri according to R. Eliezer, who said that the world was created in Tishri.' See Rapoport, 'Erek Millin, p. 92.

²³ Midrash rabba Num. I.

²⁴ Hieronymi Opera . . . Praefatio in lib. Samuel, p. 459, Venetiis, 1770: 'Machabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi, secundus Graecus est quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest'.

²⁵ See below, chap. III.

²⁶ See below, No. VIII.

sponds to 164-163 B.C.E., which was a full sabbatical year.²⁷

²⁷ See below, chap. III. The difficulties which caused scholars to deny that the chronology in 1 Maccabees is based on the year beginning in autumn, prove groundless on closer scrutiny. Let us examine them:

(1) According to 1 Macc. 7. 1 Demetrius became king in 151 A.S. From 7. 43 . . . we learn that Nicanor was killed on the 13th of Adar. The year of his death is not recorded specifically, but it was no doubt 151, as further on (9. 3) it says that when Demetrius heard that Nicanor was killed, he dispatched a great army against Judea in the first month, in the year 152 A.S. And so, according to their understanding of the matter, the chronology of 1 Maccabees does not reckon the year from the autumn; for the interval between the death of Nicanor until the time that Demetrius heard the astounding news, would be very long, whereas other things point to its having been quite short. Consequently they adopt the view that this chronology deals with a year that began in the spring and that Nicanor was killed in Adar 151 A.S., and that in Nisan 'the first month of 152 A.S.', Demetrius received the news.

But, as I have said above, the chronology of 1 Maccabees is really based on the Judean chronology, i.e. that in which the year began in autumn (Tishri), though the months are numbered from Nisan. That the months were so counted is proved by 1 Macc. 16. 14, where it is stated that Simon was killed in the eleventh month, 'the same is the month Shebat'.

The month of Adar in which Nicanor was killed does not belong to the winter of 151 A.S., but to the winter of 152 A.S., and is in our notation Adar of 161 B.C.E. The month in which Demetrius heard the report was, indeed, Nisan (ראשון) (לחרישי השנה) in the year 152 A.S. This (corresponding to 161 B.C.E.) was a leap year, immediately succeeding the post-sabbatical year (150 A.S. was sabbatic), since neither in a sabbatic nor in a post-sabbatic year was intercalation of a month permitted (see below, p. 96 and note 62). The intercalation of Adar II quite well explains how so early as Nisan, Demetrius could receive complete official reports and absolute verification of what happened to Nicanor on the 13th of Adar; eight weeks had elapsed (see Grimm, *Exegetisches Handbuch zu 1. Macc.* p. 118).

(2) According to 1 Macc. 10. 1, Alexander Balas became king in 160 A.S., and after informing us that he (the king) sent friendly messages to Jonathan and appointed him High Priest, the writer goes on to say (10. 21) that Jonathan put on the priestly garments in the feast of Tabernacles in the year 160 A.S., from which they deduce: If in the chronology of 1 Maccabees years were reckoned from the autumn, how was it possible for Jonathan's

This theory is further corroborated in the account of Antiochus IV as it is given in 1 Maccabees, where he is said to have become king in the year 137 A.S.²⁸ This, according to the general notion, was 176-175 B.C. He is said to have died in 149 A.S.,²⁹ i.e. 164-163 B.C. But as Niese³⁰ has well shown, this Antiochus, according to Eusebius, became king in Olymp. 151, 2, i.e. 175-174, and died in Olymp. 153, 4, i.e. 165-164. This, also according to Jerome, is the chronology of Eusebius.³¹ Niese furthermore has clearly shown that the death of Antiochus IV must have been 165 B.C.E.,³² for Polybius³³ says (Book XXXI, chap. 12) that when upon the receipt at Rome of the intelligence of Antiochus IV's death, and of his son's ascending the throne, senators were sent as delegates to Antioch, Cn. Octavius (consul in 165 B.C.) was at their

action on the feast of Tabernacles to occur in the same year as the action of Alexander Balas, which preceded it by less than a month?

This second objection loses its weight, as we have good reason to doubt whether 160 belongs to that part of the narrative where the feast of Tabernacles is brought in, and good reason to believe that it crept in through misunderstanding of a scribe. For in the Lucianic recension we find in 10. 21 no mention of 160 A.S. or any other year (see ed. Charles); Josephus, likewise, makes no mention of the year 160 A.S. in his narrative of the investiture of Jonathan on the Feast of Tabernacles. (*Antiq.* XIII 2. 1 and 3.)

²⁸ *I. M.* I, 10.

²⁹ *I. M.* 6. 16.

³⁰ Niese, 'Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher', *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, p. 494, and id., *Geschichte der griechischen und macedonischen Staaten*, III, p. 208. See also Abrahams, 'Niese on the books of the Maccabees', *JQR.*, XIII, pp. 508-19.

³¹ Hieronymus, VIII, pp. 567-71; Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene.

³² Niese placed the death of Antiochus IV in the winter of 165 B.C.E. See *Geschichte*, III, p. 218, note 7 and his *Kritik der Makkabäerbücher*, p. 495-6.

³³ Polyb. *Histor.* XXXI (frag. 12) εὐθὺς γὰρ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γνάιον Ὀκταύσιον καὶ Σπόριον Λοκρήτιον καὶ Λεύκιον (1075).

head.³⁴ Neither the theory that 1 Maccabees dates the beginning of the Seleucid era from Tishri 312 or from Nisan 312 (according to the generally accepted view), would square with the date of Antiochus's death in 165-164 B.C.E. On the other hand, according to the theory which I have proposed, counting Tishri 1, 312 B.C.E. as the beginning of the second year, the year 149 assigned as the date of Antiochus's death, corresponds to 165-164 B.C.E. as given in Eusebius and corroborated by Polybius.³⁵

³⁴ Niese, *l. c.*; Zumpt, *Annales*, p. 94; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, p. 84.

³⁵ At first glance Eusebius's statement that Antiochus IV reigned eleven years, does not seem to square with 1 Maccabees, where he is said to have reigned from 137 to 149. This is easily explained, however, by Eusebius's method of counting only complete years, while 1 Maccabees counted from his ascending the throne until he died. As Appian says (*Syriaca* 66): *Σελεύκου μὲν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, ἀπράκτως ἅμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν, Ἀντίochου δὲ δώδεκα οὐ πλήρῃσιν . . .* and upon Appian's words we can place more reliance, since he preceded Eusebius a considerable time, and undoubtedly had authorities for what he said. That Eusebius counted only the whole years of kings' reigns we can see also from the case of Alexander. According to his chronicles Alexander the Great ruled only twelve years, whereas in fact he ruled more than that—his reign lasted twelve years and eight months. Says Arrian (VII, 28): *ἑβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ μῆνας τοῦτους*. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, II, p. 176, Oxford, 1841.

Unger, as we have already remarked in note 10, thinks that the chronology of 1 Maccabees began with the spring of 311 B.C.E. because, according to 1 Macc. (1. 20), Antiochus returned from Egypt in the year 143 A.S., and this according to the general impression corresponded to 170-69 B.C.E. Indeed, Antiochus IV was in Palestine in the summer of 169 B.C.E. Therefore, according to Unger's view, if we say that the chronology of 1 Maccabees starts from the spring of 311 B.C., the 143rd year must be from the spring of 169 to the spring of 168 B.C. But Schürer (*Geschichte*, p. 38, note 7) truly points out that Antiochus IV was not only once but several times in Egypt (see also Wilcken in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enc.*, II, 2470-6, and Clinton, *Fasti Hel.* III, pp. 317-29). In my opinion, Unger is correct in thinking that Antiochus was in Egypt in the summer of

We are now in a position better to understand the chronology of Book II.³⁶ The difference between the respective chronologies of these two books arises out of the circumstances in which these two books were written. Whereas 1 Maccabees, as stated above, was written for Jews and in Hebrew, 2 Maccabees was plainly an apologetic work written for the Jews in Egypt, being merely an epitome of the larger Greek work of Jason. As the author stated himself: τὰ ὑπὸ 'Ιάσωνος τοῦ Κυρηναίου δεδηλωμένα διὰ πέντε βιβλίων, πειρασόμεθα δι' ἑνὸς συντάγματος ἐπιτεμεῖν (2. 23).

It is but natural therefore that the chronology of 2 Maccabees is not that of the Jews (in Palestine) but the chronology which was current throughout Hellenistic Syria and Egypt, which dated the beginning of the Seleucid era from the autumn of 312 B.C.E. Consequently, the Seleucid era of 2 Maccabees appears one full year less than that of 1 Maccabees, though they record the same event. The calendrical year among the Jews began in Tishri (cp. above, p. 78). It was but natural therefore to retain this New Year in the adopted Seleucid era. According to another principle of calendrical calculation, which applied to the political as well as the civil calendar, a fractional year was considered a year. Thus the year 149, which according

169 B.C.E. This follows from Livy XLIV, chap. II, 5. But this was not, as Unger supposes, the first invasion of Egypt, but the second. Thus 2 Macc. (5. 1-21) alludes to it by saying that Antiochus IV captured Jerusalem the second time when he returned from Egypt, i.e. 169-8. Similarly 1 Macc. (1. 29-54) states that Antiochus IV captured Jerusalem for the second time two years after his first capture of the city on his return from Egypt in the 143rd year A.S. (171-70), i.e. in the year 145 A.S. (169-8). See further on this matter, below, the discussion of the chronology of the Books of the Maccabees.

³⁶ See above, note 9.

to 1 Maccabees was the year when Antiochus IV died, is the same as 148 of 2 Macc. 9 and 11.³⁷

³⁷ Vainly did Niese strive to show (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*) that 2 Maccabees is more historical than 1 Maccabees, from the fact that 2 Maccabees places Antiochus's death in 148 A.S., which according to the commonly accepted view equals 165-4 B.C., whereas 1 Maccabees puts his death in 149 A.S., which by that view would equal 164-3, and this would be contrary to fact. As I have demonstrated, however, there is no historical difference between the two books in their dating of the death of the fourth Antiochus. See, also, the review by Israel Lévi in *REJ.*, 1901, pp. 222-30, and Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, pp. 117-63.

CHAPTER III

THE ORDER OF THE SABBATICAL CYCLES.

THE theory which we have advanced above regarding the Seleucid era as it was known among the Palestinian Jews and as it was used in 1 Maccabees, finds striking corroboration in the various references to the sabbatical cycles which are found in 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and in the Talmud, and which have hitherto been considered contradictory and conflicting. Despite the diverse nature of these sources it will be found that the sabbatical years to which they allude, and which belong to wholly different periods, all harmonize with each other if we calculate the Seleucid era in 1 Maccabees according to our theory.

Abundant references to the sabbatical institution as it existed in the Second Commonwealth occur in early Jewish literature. The year of Release naturally began in the Fall and not in the Spring, when the seed was already sown and the trees planted. The crucial problem is to determine in what years of a general era the sabbatical cycles began and ended. The following passages furnish the chief evidence by which the dating of the sabbatical cycle may be computed:

(1) In 1 Maccabees we are told that the year 150 A. S. was a sabbatical year.³⁸

(2) From Josephus we learn that the year after the assassination of Simon the Hasmonean was a sabbatical year.³⁹ The assassination having taken place according

³⁸ 1 Macc. 6. 20-54; *Ant.* XII, 9, 5.

³⁹ *Ant.* XIII, 8, 1.

to 1 Maccabees in Shebat 177 A. S.,⁴⁰ the following year was 178 A. S.

(3) Likewise we find in Josephus that the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius was in a sabbatical year.⁴¹ This event is dated Olympiad 185 in the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus.

(4) Finally, according to tannaitic authority the destruction of the Second Temple was in a post-sabbatical year.⁴²

When subjected to a critical examination, however, the testimony of these sources does not seem to tally. It has already been pointed out above that according to the generally favoured theory the Seleucid era of 1 Maccabees is to be dated from Nisan 312 B. C. E. The statement (1) that the year 150 A. S. was a sabbatical year contradicts the statement (2) of Josephus that the year following the death of Simon was a sabbatical year (cp. above, p. 81). As to the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, the consulate of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus establishes it as having fallen in 37 B. C. E., and we are further informed by Josephus that the sabbatical year overlapped the time of the siege and continued for a period following the fall of the city, which occurred on a fast day (*Ant.*, XIV, 16. 3; XV, 1. 2). The fast day to which Josephus alludes here is taken by some scholars to refer to the Day of Atonement, and consequently the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius is definitely dated by these as Tishri 10, 37 B. C. E.⁴³ This date is impossible,

⁴⁰ 1 Macc. 16. 14.

⁴¹ *Ant.* XIV, 16. 2.

⁴² Seder Olam Raba, XXX; Talmud Taanit 29 a.

⁴³ Van der Chijs, *de Herode Magno*, pp. 35-41; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, IV; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. 59; Gardthausen, *Augustus*

however, for one sabbatical year could not overlap the old and the new year, which terminate and begin respectively on the first day of Tishri. Besides, if the sabbatical year is assumed to have fallen in 164-163 B.C.E., then the year 38-37 was a sabbatical year, whereas, according to the above interpretation, it would be necessary to assume that it occurred in 37-36 B.C.E., if, as Josephus has it, the sabbatical year continued after the capture of Jerusalem.

Most of the later scholars, on the other hand, date this capture of Jerusalem in the middle of the summer, 37 B.C.E.⁴⁴ This accords well with the calculation that the sabbatical year was 38-37 B.C.E., and also with the statement that the sabbatical year overlapped the time of the siege and the period following the capture of the city. But this date of the capture of Jerusalem fixes the beginning of Herod's rule in the summer of 37 B.C.E., and in this connexion a later passage relating to Herod's reign obviously contradicts the calculation of the sabbatical cycle. Thus, Josephus states that in the thirteenth year of Herod's reign there was a famine in Palestine, and also the seed that they sowed that year yielded no fruit the second year.⁴⁵ Now the thirteenth year of Herod's reign, counting Nisan as the 'New Year for Kings', corresponds to Nisan 25-24 B.C.E. But according to the above calcu-

und seine Zeit, and 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes', *Rhein. Museum*, 1895, pp. 311-14; Unger, *l. c.*, pp. 273-77; Kellner, *Katholik*, II, 1887, pp. 118-21.

⁴⁴ Herzfeld, 'Wann war die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Pompejus, und wann die durch Herodes?' *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenth.*, 1855, pp. 109-15; Kromayer, 'Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch Herodes', *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), pp. 563-71; Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, p. 196; Hitzig, *Geschichte*, II, 532.

⁴⁵ *Ant.* XV, 9, 1; comp. XV, 9, 2; Schürer, I, p. 367.

lation of the sabbatical cycles, the winter of 24 B. C. E. was a sabbatical year and cannot be reconciled with the statement that seed was sown that year.⁴⁶

As to the tannaitic reference to the sabbatical year preceding the destruction of the Temple, i. e. 68-69 C. E., this accords well with the previous calculation of the sabbatical cycles on the basis of 1 Maccabees. But the reliability of this statement too was challenged by critics who oppose to it the statement of Josephus that Simon the Zealot, in the winter of 68-69 C. E. (cp. *Bell. Ind.* IV, 9. 7 and 12), fell upon Idumea with his army like a host of locusts, wasting the land and consuming all that grew in the country. Thus it appears that the Idumeans who observed the Jewish laws since the time of Hyrcanus I did not observe this year as a sabbatical year.⁴⁷

These seemingly insurmountable difficulties in the way of establishing the sabbatical cycle may be cleared by a careful investigation of each passage, provided that our theory of the Seleucid era in 1 Maccabees is presupposed. Thus we have already shown that, according to our theory, the year following the death of Simon, which is dated Shebat 177 A. S., was 136-135 B. C. E., which harmonizes with the dating of 150 A. S., or 164-163 B. C. E. as the sabbatical year (see above, p. 8). As to the difficulties which are raised by the passage in Josephus relating to the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, it is crucial first to establish critically the month and the year in which this event took place. Neither the date of the summer of 37 B. C. E. nor of Tishri of that year is acceptable. The former implies that by the solemnity of the fast Josephus referred to the sabbath. This is conceivable as regards

⁴⁶ Unger, *l. c.*, pp. 278-80.

⁴⁷ See also Unger, *l. c.*, 280-1.

Dio, the pagan, but not Josephus the Jew.⁴⁸ The latter date is inherently contradictory, as has already been pointed out, for the sabbatical year could not extend both prior to and after Tishri. Another date must therefore be established in order to render this passage in Josephus in any way intelligible.

The statement of Josephus reads: 'The destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls at Rome, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast'. Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανιδίου (Κανινίου) Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτῃς ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας (*Ant.* XIV, 16. 4). Now Dio Cassius, in describing the same event, refers it to the time of the Consuls Claudius and Norbanus.⁴⁹ Evidently there is a contradiction between

⁴⁸ See Herzfeld, *l. c.*, p. 112. Strabo (born 60-55 B.C.E.) tells us that Jerusalem was taken by Pompey on a fast day—*ἡ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν*.—Reinach, *Textes*, p. 103. Dio misunderstood and substituted sabbath day (*ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ*) (Dio, XXXVII, 15, 16). Some Roman historians were of the opinion that the sabbath was a fast day to the Jews, which we also find in a letter by Augustus. 'Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi' (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 76), and the same opinion is expressed by Pompeius Trogus, 'Septimum diem more gentis sabbata appellatum in omne aevum ieiunio sacrant' (Reinach, *Textes*, p. 254), and also Petronius is under the same impression: 'et non ieiunia sabbata lege premet' (Reinach, *Textes*, p. 266). On the other hand Josephus nowhere states that the sabbath was a fast day to the Jews. Also Tacitus is silent on this matter; 'septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit' (Reinach, *l. c.*, p. 305), apparently unaware of Sabbath being a fast day.

⁴⁹ Dio, XLIX, 22-3 Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ [Antony] λαβὼν τοὺς τε Ἀραβίους πολιορκηθέντας τε μέχρι τότε καὶ λιμῷ καὶ νόσῳ ταλαιπωρηθέντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἀποκτείναντα μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ

the two historians. The consulate of Agrippa and Gallus was in 37 B. C. E., 717 A. U. C., while that of Claudius and Norbanus was in 38 B. C. E., 716 A. U. C. Choosing between these two sources, Clinton rejected the testimony of Josephus in favour of Dio, and consequently placed the capture of Jerusalem in December 38 B. C. E.⁵⁰ Thus the capture of Jerusalem falls properly in the sabbatical year 38-37 B. C. E., and the month is preceded as well as followed by the sabbatical season. But this theory entirely invalidates the testimony of Josephus, and what is more, it does not explain the allusion to the fast-day.

It is my opinion that the difference between the two accounts in Josephus and Dio respectively does not represent a contradiction in fact, but merely a difference in their respective methods of reckoning the consulate. Dio reckons the consulate from the date that the Consuls enter into office. According to Varo, the term of the Roman consuls at this time began in March.⁵¹ Josephus, on the other hand, employed the Macedonian calendar, in which calendar

καταφυγόντα ἐς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκία κατεστρέψατο. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν (τὸ γάρ τοι γένος αὐτῶν θυμωθὲν πικρότατόν ἐστι), πολλῶ δὲ δὴ πλείω αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐόλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὠνομασμένη. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε τοὺς προτέρους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χειρωθέντας παραιτήσασθαί τε τὸν Σόσιον, ἔπειδὴ ἡμέρα αὖθις ἢ τοῦ Κρόνου ἐνέστη, καὶ ἀνελθόντας ἐς αὐτὸ πάντα μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδης τινὶ ὃ Ἀντώνιος ἄρχειν ἐπέτρεψε, τὸν δ' Ἀντίγονον ἐμαστίγωσε σταυρῷ προσδήσας, ὃ μηδεὶς βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπέσφαξεν. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβανοῦ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγενετο.

⁵⁰ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III, p. 220; Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, Altona, 1846, p. 350.

⁵¹ Varro 6, 12 frag. and 33 'si a Martio ut antiqui constituerunt numeres'. See also Th. Mommsen, *Die römische Chronologie*, Berlin, 1859, pp. 98-9.

the Olympian year began in the fall, as we shall show presently.⁵² In the same manner, the consulate too was reckoned not from the day when the consuls entered into office, but from the beginning of the Olympian year which was in the autumn. Thus the consulates are fixed by Polybius.⁵³ Consequently the events which occurred between Dios—in the autumn months—and March would, according to this system, be reckoned in the succeeding consulate.

If to this explanation of Josephus's use of the Macedonian calendar we would add the statement of Josephus that 'the destruction befell the city of Jerusalem . . . in the third month', we are in a position definitely to ascertain the exact date on which the event occurred, and to identify the 'solemnity of the fast'. The third month cannot mean the third month of the siege, as Josephus states elsewhere that the city fell after a siege of five to six months.⁵⁴ It cannot refer to the third month of the Hebrew calendar, as it is placed together with the Olympian year. It can therefore only mean in the third month of the Olympian year of the 185th Olympiad, and it must furthermore be the Olympian year of the Macedonian calendar. For the third month in the Attic-Olympian calendar corresponds to the Hebrew Tishri, which makes it impossible to harmonize with the statement that the sabbatical season preceded and followed the capture of Jerusalem. The third month is thus the month of Audyneus,

⁵² See below, chap. IV.

⁵³ Comp. H. Nissen, 'Die Oekonomie der Geschichte des Polybios', *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI (1871), pp. 241-82.

⁵⁴ The siege lasted from five to six months. *Bell. Iud.* I, 18, 2; comp. V, 9. 4

which corresponds to December and January, i. e. the Hebrew month Tebet. It may therefore be assumed that the fast-day refers to the tenth of Tebet,⁵⁵ and consequently the capture of Jerusalem took place January 13-14, 37 B. C. E. = 717 A. U. C.

This date would be placed in the consulate of Claudius and Norbanus by Dio, while Josephus would advance it into the consulate of Agrippa and Gallus. This date fulfils also the other conditions, namely, that it falls in a sabbatical year, and was preceded as well as followed by the sabbatical season.

The date of the capture of Jerusalem marks the beginning of Herod's reign. According to the Jewish calculation of the royal era from Nisan, the month of Nisan in 37 B. C. E. was the beginning of the second year of his reign. Consequently, the thirteenth and fourteenth years were not 25-24 and 24-23 B. C. E., but 26-25 and 25-24 B. C. E., while the sabbatical year was indeed 24-23 B. C. E.

The theory which is equally prevalent that the first year of Herod must be reckoned either from Nisan of 37 B. C. E. or from 10 Tishri of 37 B. C. E. is based on Josephus's synchronizing the seventh year of Herod with that of the battle of Actium, which was fought on September 2, 31 B. C. E. From this it is assumed that we must consider his first year to have begun in the year 37 B. C. E.⁵⁶ *Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἐβδόμου [δ'] ὄντος Ἡρώδης τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους, σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (*Ant.* XV, 5. 2).

This assumption appears groundless when we subject

⁵⁵ Zech. 8. 19.

⁵⁶ Schürer, *Geschichte*, I, p. 365, n. 6, and p. 415, n. 167; Kromayer, *l. c.*, p. 571.

the following text of Josephus on which it is based to a critical examination. He says: 'This time (when there was war between the Arabs and Herod) it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony in the seventh year of the reign of Herod, and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea'.

Josephus cannot mean that the battle of Actium coincided with the earthquake in Judea, as the former event occurred in September,⁵⁷ while the latter occurred at the beginning of the Spring.⁵⁸ This passage would be entirely unintelligible if we did not fortunately have a parallel reference to these events in the *Bellum Iudaicum*, which clears up the true meaning of this text: 'In the seventh year of his reign (Herod's), when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring the earth was shaken'. Κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδομον, ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀκτίου πολέμου. ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα (*Bell. Iud.* I, 19. 3).

Here Josephus identifies with the time of the earthquake not the battle (μάχην) of Actium, but the war (πόλεμος) about Actium, which begun in the winter of 32-31 B. C. E., was at its height in the spring,⁵⁹ and culminated in Sept. 2, 31 B. C. E. As Josephus states here plainly, when the war about Actium was at its height, at the beginning of the spring, that the earthquake took place, and this was in the seventh year of Herod's reign. In such manner we must interpret the previous passage in *Antiq.* Consequently, the actual

⁵⁷ Zonar, X, 30 κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός: also Dio, LI, 1 τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο: see Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 368.

⁵⁸ Ἀρχομένου γὰρ ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα, *Bell. Iud.* I, 19, 3.

⁵⁹ Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, III; Dio, L, 11 τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οὐδαμῶς ἐκινήθη . . . καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὴν τε Μεθώνην ἐκ προσβολῆς λαβών.

battle of Actium fell in the eighth year of Herod, and the first year ends properly with the month of Nisan 37 B. C. E., as we have assumed.

The above explanation is based of course on the assumption that the beginning of spring preceded Nisan. This is contrary to Schürer's views that the Jews reckoned the spring season from the first of Nisan.⁶⁰ There can be no doubt, however, that Schürer was in error on this point. While the Jewish months are lunar, the seasons were fixed according to the position of the sun, and in an intercalated year, the beginning of the spring must precede the sixteenth of the month of Nisan.⁶¹ The year 31 B. C. E., being a pre-sabbatical year, was in fact intercalated in accordance with an ancient rule.⁶²

The entire discussion of the date of the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius would not be complete without the consideration of the supplementary statement of Josephus: ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτὰ (*Ant.* XIV, 16. 4). On the face of it Josephus appears to mean that the capture of Jerusalem by Herod marked the anniversary of Pompey's conquest of the Holy City. Our date—the 10th of Tebet—can hardly be taken as the anniversary of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, as this appears in all likelihood to have taken place in one of the summer months, or more accurately the month of Tammuz, in which a well-established

⁶⁰ Schürer, I, p. 365, n. 6.

⁶¹ מעברין השנה על אביב ועל החקופה, see Talmud Sanhedrin 11-13 and Tosefta, *ibid.*

⁶² אין מעברין לא בשביעית ולא במוצאי שביעית אימתי רגילין לעבר בערבי שביעית, T. Jerushalmi Sanhedrin 18 d; Babli, *ibid.*

fast-day fell.⁶³ But this passage is, in any event, difficult to reconcile with the facts, according to any of the above-cited identifications of the date of Herod's capture of Jerusalem. For the conquest of Pompey to which Josephus refers took place according to his own testimony in the third month of the siege⁶⁴ on a fast-day in 179 Olymp. in the consulate of Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, which corresponds to 63 B. C. E.

Now between 63 B. C. E. and 37 B. C. E. there intervenes only a period of twenty-six years and not twenty-seven.

This last consideration makes it impossible to interpret $\tau\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$, 'the same day', as referring to the anniversary. It must be assumed that fast-days on which the respective events took place were not identical. Only thus it becomes possible to explain the interval of twenty-seven years, namely, that the event of Pompey fell in the month of Tammuz and that of Herod in the month of Tebet. Reckoning the fractional year from Tammuz to Tishri or Dios as one year, Josephus properly counted the intervening period as twenty-seven years. As to the literal meaning, 'the same day', this can only be taken to mean the same day of the week. Thus Tammuz 9, 63 B. C. E. fell on Tuesday or Wednesday, while Tebet 10, 37 B. C. E. fell on Wednesday or Thursday.⁶⁵ Assuming that the two dates respectively fell on Wednesday—and this can also be maintained on other grounds—we see that Josephus

⁶³ See Prideaux, *Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins*, V, p. 517, Paris, 1726. For a full discussion about the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey and the reckoning of the years of Hyrcanus, see below, Appendix.

⁶⁴ Comp. *Bell. Iud.* I, 7. 4.

⁶⁵ See also Unger, *l. c.*, p. 276, where he states that the 10th of Tishri 63 B. C. E. fell on Sunday or Monday, and the 10th of Tishri 37 B. C. E. fell on Wednesday or Thursday.

could well count, καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτά. That both Pompey's capture of Jerusalem and Herod's fell on Wednesday is curiously corroborated by an obscure and corrupt passage in an old historical document which is otherwise unintelligible: כשחרב הבית בראשונה אותו היום [חשעה באב היה ו] מוצאי שבת היה ומוצאי שביעית [היתה] ומשמרתו של יהויריב . . . וכן שניה . . . ובוה ובוה הלויים עומדים על דוכנן ואומרים שירה ומה שירה אומרים וישב עליהם את אונם . . . בחדש הרבעי בחשעה לחדש הבקעה העיר בראשונה, בשניה בחדש (עשר) בו, *Seder Olam*, ch. XXX, ed. Neubauer.⁶⁶ The day on which the Temple was destroyed the first time fell on the 9th of Ab, on the day following the sabbath, in a post-sabbatical year and in the watch of Jehoharib. Thus also the second destruction. . . . Both times the Levites stood at their posts and recited their psalm. What psalm did they recite?

‘And he hath brought upon them their own iniquity,
And will cut them off in their own evil;’
The Lord our God will cut them off.’ (Ps. 94.)

In the fourth month, in the seventh day thereof a breach was made in the city during the first (Destruction) and on the seven(teen)th thereof during the second (Destruction).

That this passage is incoherent was already felt in the Talmud, without any satisfactory explanation being offered there.⁶⁷ Thus, it is well known both in the Talmud and in the works of Josephus that the sacrificial service was abolished on the seventeenth of Tammuz, during the siege of Titus,⁶⁸ while here the statement is

⁶⁶ In Talmud Taanit and Erakin, the above passage is found with other variants.

⁶⁷ See Arakin 11-12.

⁶⁸ Talmud Taanit 26: בתמוז בטל התמיד; comp. *Bell. Iud.* VI, 2. 1: ‘On the seventeenth day of the month Ponemus the daily sacrifice (*ἐνδελεχισμός*) had failed’.

made that the sacrifices continued till the ninth of Ab. In addition, there is the glaring contradiction that the Temple is said to have fallen on Sunday, while the psalms which the Levites chanted in accompaniment to the alleged sacrificial service of that day, formed the recitation of Wednesday (cp. Mishnah Tamid).

It must be assumed that the text represents an incomplete and defective Baraita. The antecedents of *בזה ובוה* are not *בראשונה ובשניה* of the existing text, which refers to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus respectively, but must allude to a missing sentence which described the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey and Herod also as *בראשונה ובשניה*. Thus interpreted, the allusion to the Levites at the sacrificial service reminds one strongly of Josephus's description of the siege and fall of Jerusalem under both these conquerors, where he emphasizes the fact that the daily sacrifices were kept up till the very fall of the city.⁶⁹ It only remains to be noted that the psalm which the Levites are said to have chanted on these two days respectively was the psalm which was recited every Wednesday.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ As regards the time when Jerusalem was captured by Pompey, we read the following: 'Many of the priests when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance went on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense', *Bell. Iud.* I, 7. 5. As regards the time of Herod we have the following: 'When the outer court of the Temple and the lower city were taken . . . but now fearing lest the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy, and desired that they would only permit them to bring in beasts for sacrifices which Herod granted', *Ant.*, XVI, 16. 2. See J. Lehmann, 'Quelques dates importantes de la chronologie du second temple', *REJ.*, XXXVII (1898), pp. 1-44.

⁷⁰ Mishnah Tamid, ch. 7, Mishnah 4. Some again object to our theory as to the dates of these cycles of Shemittot on the ground that in accordance

We may now finally dispose of the last argument which was raised above, against the fixation of the order of the sabbatical cycles, namely, that while the year preceding the destruction of the Temple was a sabbatical year according to the testimony of the Talmud, as well as on the therewith 40-41 C.E. would necessarily be a sabbatic year, whereas Josephus, in treating of the Jews petitioning Petronius not to place a statue of the Emperor in the Sanctuary, reports the latter as saying to them, 'Go, till the soil'. Schürer aptly observes that this is not sufficient to prove the year non-sabbatical: 'dieses indirekte Argument . . . nicht stark genug ist, um die überlieferten positiven Daten in Betreff der Sabbatjahre umzustossen' (*Geschichte*, I, p. 35; see also pp. 495-507). Also Wieseler, *Stud. u. Krit.* (1879), p. 529 inclines very strongly to the idea that that conversation between the Jews and Petronius took place in 39-40 B. C. E. Graetz (*Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 8) considers also that 40-41 C.E. could not have been a sabbatic year by reason of what is stated in Mishnah Sotah, VII, 7: מוצאי יו"ט הראשון של חג בשמיני במוצאי שביעית—אגריפס המלך עמד וקבל וקרא עומד ושבחוהו חכמים וכשהגיע ללא תוכל לכת עליו א"ש נכרי ולנו עיניו רמעות אמרו לו אל תתירא אגריפס אחינו אחת On the feast of Tabernacles in the post-sabbatical year the king read the Pentateuch (before the multitude).

The Mishnah, after stating that the king stood while reading, continues: 'And when he read the passage, "Thou mayest not put over thee a foreign man", his eyes were suffused with tears (the Herodian family was of Idumean origin)—they said to him, "Be not afraid, Agrippa, thou art our brother: our brother art thou"'. The post-sabbatic year thus falls in 41-42 C.E., whereas, as Graetz thinks, Agrippa I did not come to Judea until 42 C.E. (*Monatssch.*, 1877, p. 433). But this objection will not affect matters, for admitting that Agrippa could not have been present at the service of Feast of Tabernacles in 41 B.C., it has never been proved that the passage refers to Agrippa I, and not to Agrippa II. Derenbourg, *Essai*, p. 217, thinks Agrippa II was meant, as does also Büchler, 'Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des Jerusalemischen Tempels', *Bericht der Isr. Theol. Lehranstalt in Wien*, 1895, p. 12, and Hitzig, II, 571. See also Brann in *Monatssch.*, 1870, pp. 541-8. The word 'king' could have been applied to Agrippa II, for besides his being king in Galilee, he was, by appointment, given charge of the Temple. In the Talmud we find evidences of his being called king, as in the statement שאל אגריפס המלך (Tanḥuma Genesis, ed. Frankfurt, p. 6 d, 1701); שאל . . . אגריפס המלך את רבי אליעזר . . . (Sukkah 27 b).

basis of our calculation, nevertheless Josephus refers to the growing fruit in the land of Edom which was invaded by Simon the Zealot that year (69 C.E.). This difficulty is easily solved by the simple and well-known fact that the laws of the sabbatical year affected only the lands of Palestine, and had no application in Edom or in any other country that was annexed to Palestine.⁷¹

⁷¹ See Mishnah, Shebiith, VI, 1. Many scholars think that 69-70 was sabbatic and that this is attested by the Baraita . . . כשחרב הבית מוצאי . . . שביעית, which according to them means the latter part of the sabbatic year, in which the month of Ab would be the eleventh. Such is Caspari's opinion (*Life of Christ*, pp. 23-6, 37), and Graetz's understanding of the expression במוצאי שביעית, Graetz, *Geschichte*, III, 2, n. 8. In truth, however, the sabbatic year was 68-69, whereas מוצאי שביעית is the following year, 69-70, for which we have coined the expression, post-sabbatic. That מוצאי שביעית in the Talmud means the post-sabbatic year and not any part of the seventh year is evident from many passages, e.g. אין מעברין השנה לא בשביעית ולא במוצאי שביעית 'They do not intercalate, neither in the sabbatical year nor in the post-sabbatical'. This is also evident from Ab. zarah 9 b. : הא מאן דלא ידע כמה שני בשבוע הוא עומד : 'If any man is uncertain as to the year of the Shemittah he is in, he should count the years, from the year in which the Sanctuary was destroyed and add one year, since that event took place in a year that followed a sabbatic year'.

This error—that the destruction of the Temple was in a sabbatic year—we find not only among modern scholars, but among the rabbis of the Middle Ages. This is even the idea of Rashi, see his remarks, and Tosaphot on Ab. zarah 9 b. Not only were they misled into thinking that the year of destruction was sabbatic, but also as to the exact year. According to some, the destruction took place in the year 3828 A.M., i.e. 67-68 C.E., while others place it in the year 3829 A.M. (68-69 C.E.). See Rashi and Tosaphot, *ibid.*, and Seder ha-Kabalah, by Abraham ibn Daud (Rabad). Both dates are false. The destruction of the Temple, as is known, took place in the month of Ab, 3830 A.M. (69-70 C.E.). This error we can detect in a passage in the Talmud, Ab. zarah 9 b, which is from the latest Amoraim or is an addition of a later time, confusing the two statements : אמר ר' חנינא אחר ארבע מאות לחרבן הבית אם יאמר לך ארם קה שדה שזה אלף דינרין בדינר אחד לא תקח.—במתניתא תנא (אחר) [This אחר is superfluous and does not appear in the Spanish MS. in the Jewish Theological

The correct order of the sabbatical cycles was preserved centuries later in the Gaonic schools and in Palestine. According to their calculation, says Maimonides, 'this year 4936 A.M. and 1107 after the destruction of the Temple (1175-6) is a post-sabbatical year'.⁷²

Seminary of America.] ארבעת אלפים ומאתים ושלשים ואחת לבריאת עולם. אם יאמר לך אדם קח לך שדה שוה אלף דינרין בדינר אחד אל תקח. R. Hanina said: 'After 400 from the destruction of the Temple, if a man offers you a field worth 1,000 denarii for one denarius, buy not'. (The reason for this advice was that the Messiah would come.) In a Baraita it is stated: 'In 4231 A.M. if you are offered for one denarius a field worth 1,000 denarii, take not'. The Talmud asks what is the difference between the two, and gives the answer: דמתניתא טפא. הלל שני. The difference between R. Hanina's statement and that in the Baraita is three years. The author of this passage thought that the destruction took place 3828 A.M., and R. Hanina's statement would apply to after 4228 A.M., while according to the Baraita it is 4231 A.M.,—which exceeds by three years. But the two statements are in agreement. The destruction took place 3830 A.M., and R. Hanina's statement would mean 'after 4230 A.M. buy nothing', while the Baraita specifies 4231 as the beginning of the period.

This statement about the cycles of Shemittot is corroborated by a well-known Haggadah in the Talmud Sanhedrin 91a in connexion with Alexander. In telling of this dispute before him of representative Jews and Ishmaelites, the Haggadah ends with ואותה שנה שביעית היתה 'that year was sabbatic'. Alexander was in Palestine 332 B.C.E. Counting back from 164-163 twenty-four cycles, we get 332-331 as sabbatic.

⁷² — ושנת השמיטה ידועה היא ומפורסמת אצל הנאונים ואנשי ארץ ישראל . . . ולפי חשבון זה תהי' שנה זו שהיא שנת שבע ומאה ואלף לחורבן ישראל. הבית מוצאי שביעית. Maimonides, *Yad ha-Hazakah, Shemittah*, X, 6. The year 4936 A.M. (i.e. 1175-6 C.E.) being, as Maimonides says in the name of the Geonim, post-sabbatical, confirms our view on sabbatical cycles that 3830 A.M. (69-70 C.E., year of destruction of the Temple) was post-sabbatical, thus making 158 cycles; but, according to Maimonides, 4936 A.M. is the year 1107 of the destruction of the Temple. Herein he erred, taking as year of the destruction 3829 A.M. (68-69 C.E.), which error we already detected in a passage in Talmud (see note 71).

As to how this error arose among the Geonim, and with regard to the מנין שטרות, i.e. Era of Contracts, see below.

(To be continued.)

THE RABBINATE OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE,
LONDON, FROM 1756-1842.

BY DR. C. DUSCHINSKY, London.

THE history of the various Jewish communities, the tales told about the numerous Kehillahs, forms as great and as important a part of Jewish history as do the tales of woe and persecution of the Jews as a people, and as the political history of the Jews, in their relation to other nations. Every community, be it large or small, has its own history with its personalities, scholars, benefactors, and—cranks. It might be difficult to write the history of a small non-Jewish community, but monographs on many a small Kehillah with no more than 50 to 100 families have often been written and form a valuable part of Jewish history.

The Ashkenazi community of London was at first a small *hebrah* only, but very soon increased in numbers. London, as the capital of the British Empire, as the centre of the world's commerce, soon after the readmission of the Jews in 1650, attracted many co-religionists from the Continent. Although the first settlers were Sephardim, we find a small Ashkenazi community as early as the year 1659. In 1675 the community had already developed so far as to be able to elect a Rabbi in the person of the learned R. Judah Loeb b. Ephraim Anschel, who in 1705 became Rabbi of Rotterdam. (See *J.H.S.E. Transact.*, vol. III, p. 105.)

Most of the Ashkenazi settlers of that time hailed from Germany, only very few from Poland. The first Parnas of the congregation, Abraham, or R. Aberle, came from Hamburg, and the first Rabbi of Duke's Place Synagogue, Uri Phoebush Hart, at first opponent of R. Judah Loeb's and afterwards his successor, was a native of Breslau and was known as R. Phybush Bressler. He was in office from 1692 until 1752. His successor was Rabbi Zevi Hirschel Lewin.

Through the kindness of Mr. E. N. Adler I have been enabled to obtain an insight into the spiritual life of the Ashkenazi community under the guidance of Rabbi Zevi Hirschel and his successor in office, David Tevele Schiff, who was Rabbi of Duke's Place Synagogue from 1765 until 1792. Mr. Adler allowed me the use of his manuscripts, Nos. 1160, 1248, and 2286 and others. MS. Adler 1248 contains, on 84 folio leaves, most of the discourses which Rabbi Zevi Hirschel Lewin, or as he was called in London Hart Lyon, delivered during his tenure of office in London in the years 1756-63. The first discourse is dated Sabbath Beha'alotka 5517 (June 1757) and the last the Sabbath preceding Passover (Sabbath Haggadol) 5523 (March 1763). MS. No. 1160 contains talmudic and other notes by David Tevele Schiff, some of them having been written in London. MS. 2286 is again the work of R. Zevi Hirsch.

I

RABBI HIRSCHEL LEWIN

as we shall call him for brevity's sake, and as he was generally called in later life, was born in 1721 at Reisha in Poland. He was the son of Rabbi Aryeh Loeb (Loewenstamm), then Rabbi of that town. Rabbi Aryeh Loeb was a descendant of great men. His father was Rabbi Saul of

Cracow, and his grandfather was the famous Rabbi Heschele Cracow, but the family traced their origin to Rabbi Jacob Weil of Regensburg (flourished about 1435) called Mahari Weil, to Rabbi Meir of Padua (Maharam Padua, died November 1583), Solomon Luria (Maharshal, died 1573), and even to the great Spanish statesman and Hebrew scholar Don Isaac Abrabanel (born 1437, died 1508). Rabbi Hirschel's father, R. Aryeh Loeb, was at first Rabbi in Reisha, where he still lived in the year 1728. Later he became Rabbi of Lemberg, then of Glogau and lastly of Amsterdam. In 1734 he signs in Glogau an approbation (הסכמה) dated 17th of Sivan, 5494, to the Talmud edition printed at Frankfort and Berlin. On the New Moon of the month of Tammuz, 5400 = July 1740, he received the call to Amsterdam.

Doubt has been expressed by various historians as to whether Rabbi Aryeh ever officiated in Lemberg. Landshut in his history of the Berlin Rabbis (p. 71) devotes a whole page to the task of solving this mystery. In the approbation to the Talmud edition just mentioned, he refers to himself as Rabbi elect of Lemberg. There being then no other proofs known of his ever having filled the office in Lemberg, Landshut, having no evidence, ventures the opinion that he was only *elected* to the office, but never actually officiated there (*op. cit.*, p. 72). Dembitzer, in his excellent work on the Rabbis of Lemberg, entitled *Kelilat Jofi* (Cracow, 1888), II, 83a (without referring to Landshut's work), is of the opinion that R. Aryeh Loeb was at *one and the same time* Rabbi of Glogau *and* of Lemberg. According to Dembitzer he lived sometimes in the one town, sometimes in the other. We need only look at the map and measure the distance between these two places

to become at once convinced how improbable such a theory is. The journey by coach must have taken several weeks. We are now in a position to discard both these theories. MS. Adler 2286 is a scholar's note-book (a so-called 'Torah book') by Zevi Hirsch written in Glogau, and commenced in the year 1737. The title of this manuscript tells us that Rabbi Hirschel, who was then studying under his father, made these notes in order to keep a record of all the new points raised by his father in his talmudical lectures delivered at his Yeshibah (College). He styles his father (מ"ו ארי' ליב נ"ו אבד דק"ק גלוגא אשר הי' לפניו אב"ד דק"ק לבנו) 'R. Aryeh Loeb Rabbi of Glogau, who *was formerly* Rabbi of Lemberg' (see, however, *Megillat Sefer*, p. 67). This leaves no doubt that for some time he was actually Rabbi of the latter congregation.

Rabbi Aryeh Loeb is described as one of the most humble men that ever lived. Of a quiet disposition and saintly life, worldly goods had no value for him. He never said a word which he did not mean; strict as regards himself he was very lenient and most tolerant to others. Only on one point did he admit of no compromise, and that was in his unrelenting opposition to the adherents of the pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi. He sided with Jacob Emden, who was his brother-in-law, in the latter's quarrel with R. Jonathan Eybeschütz. Many members of his family (his father R. Saul and his grandfather R. Heschel) had already before him actively combated the spreading of the sect of 'Shebsen' (as the adherents of Sabbatai Zevi were called). Many of the letters which he wrote against Eybeschütz are printed in Emden's works (*Hit'abkut, Sefat Emet*, &c.).

Rabbi Aryeh Loeb's wife was Miryam (died in

Amsterdam, 17th of Tammuz, 1753), daughter of the famous Ḥaham Zevi, Rabbi of the combined congregations, Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck, later of Amsterdam and Lemberg (where he died on Monday, 1st of Iyyar, 1718), who likewise came from a family of great scholars. (See Appendix I.)

Born of such parents, it is no wonder that R. Hirschel Lewin was, from his earliest childhood, brought up in a religious atmosphere, taught to love his people and their tradition, and he soon became an eminent scholar. The education of Jewish children in those days consisted mainly of Hebrew. From the age of five the child was taught Hebrew, from morning to night, and Hebrew only. Not infrequently many boys of twelve or thirteen years of age had mastered a considerable part of the Talmud. Of a similar nature was Hirschel Lewin's early training, with the exception, that in addition to the Talmud, he was taught also Hebrew grammar, a very exceptional thing in those days. The MS. Adler No. 2286 was begun by him when he was only sixteen years old and gives proof that even then he was a master of Hebrew style, possessed of a clear head and had quite original ideas. We do not hear about him again until many years later. The first letter which we possess from him (Landshut, p. 72) is dated 1751, written when he was a private scholar in Glogau. This letter refers to the Emden-Eybeschütz controversy and is addressed to his brother Saul, then Rabbi of Dubno (later in Amsterdam). It appeared in the booklet, *Sefat Emet*, of his uncle Jacob Emden (p. 22 a). Having married Golde, daughter of David Tevele Cohen, Parnas in Glogau (died on the 9th of Tishri, 551 = 1751; see *Zevi Lazzadik*, p. 175, note 20), he settled there and continued his studies

under Rabbi Lemmil Levi, Chief Rabbi of that town. At the instigation of this teacher he wrote another letter to his father R. Aryeh Loeb, intimating that Eybeschütz was tired of the endless strife with Emden, and was willing to give an undertaking not to write any more charms or amulets (printed in *Edut Beja'aḳob*, p. 59 a). Rabbi Aryeh Loeb sent this letter to his brother-in-law Jacob Emden, who replied in a bitter spirit. 'He was disappointed in R. Hirschel', he writes, 'whom he had estimated to be a man of strong will and character, and in that opinion had asked him to be his messenger to the Rabbis of Poland and win them over to his side. Instead of this he turned conciliator, but there can be no conciliation with the evildoer Eybeschütz. "Keep away from his net"', he ends up. (Emden's letter is dated the 25th Adar, 5513 = 1753, and is printed in *Edut Beja'aḳob*, p. 59 b.)

It is nearly certain that he lived in Glogau for several years. When in 1756 the Rabbinate of the Ashkenazi congregation in London became vacant, R. Hirschel had already won fame as an eminent scholar, a great Hebrew linguist and also as one who had some knowledge of secular subjects. He was elected to the vacant office in the same year. He had received an offer, shortly before his election, to become Rabbi of Dubno in succession to his brother Saul, who had been appointed to succeed his father R. Aryeh Loeb (died 7th day of Passover, 1755, at the age of 64; see Landshut, pp. 72 and 118) as Rabbi in Amsterdam. The conditions were that he should pay the government fees, which had to be paid in Poland on the election of every Rabbi, and to provide a house for himself. He refused, probably because he had already received the call to London.

RABBI ZEVI HIRSCH IN LONDON.

Rabbi Hirschel was Rabbi in London from the end of the year 1756 until the 1st of Sivan, 1764, about eight years.¹ It was during the Seven Years' War, when the political conditions of Europe were totally different to what they are to-day. England was the *ally* of Prussia and had to fight against France, Russia, and Austria. The year 1756 was an especially critical one for England. The Duke of Newcastle, who had followed his brother Henry Pelham as Prime Minister, began the war with only three regiments fit for service. England suffered in that year not only defeats by the French in Minorca, losing Port Mahon, but also in America the English arms were far from victorious. Part of the English Fleet was destroyed and a despondency without parallel took possession of the population. Chesterfield cried in despair, 'We are no longer a Nation'.

Under such external conditions R. Hirschel entered office. The first sermon which we possess from him was delivered at an Intercession Service² ordered by the King,

¹ It is not quite clear as to when he entered upon his duties. Jacob Kimḥi in his 'שאלה חשו' (p. 7) states that he was elected at the beginning of the year 5517 (September or October 1756), and signs a letter to him dated: = Sidra Noah (= November) 5517. The date of this letter seems beyond question, the letters giving the same being printed in large type. On the other hand, in an approbation to the book (Amsterdam, 1765, see Benjacob, No. 339), Rabbi Hirschel states that he wrote it at the Hague on Monday the 20th of Elul, 5517, on his way to take up his duties in London. This cannot be right, and must have been a mistake of the printer (the book having been printed eight years later), who very likely printed the wrong letters in large type. There can now be no doubt as to Kimḥi's date being the correct one, as we possess in MS. Adler, No. 2248, a sermon delivered in London on **שבת בהעלותך** = May 1757 (p. 3).

² The manuscript contains four sermons given at Intercession Services

and was held on Sabbath Beha'alotka 5517 = about June 1757. (MS. Adler 1248,³ p. 3a.) He remarked in that discourse: 'The fact that the king had commanded a special service is a proof that he does not rely on his own strength alone, but prays for the help of God'. He reminds his congregation that they live in a country where Israel is treated with kindness and where they enjoy liberty. This was said at a time when, in Germany, Jews were required to pay, not only extra war-taxes in money, but had to give up all boxes, watches, and rings, made of gold or silver. If a tax was not paid, the community had to give hostages, and the lot of the German Jews of those days was, accordingly, not an enviable one.⁴ 'We Jews', continues R. Hirschel, 'can help the King as much with our prayers as by joining the Army'—an opinion very much questioned nowadays. In another discourse, 'by command of the King', referring to some victory, he says: 'The King does not attribute victory to his own arms but to the help of God. We Jews have double reason to be thankful for the victory, as the King's peace will mean peace for us'.

'by Command of the King': (1) on pp. 2a-2b; (2) pp. 21a-22b; (3) pp. 23a-24a; (4) 24a-27b, all of the year 5520 = 1759-60. An Intercession Service was held in the Sephardi Synagogue on Feb. 6, 1756 (see Gaster: *History of the Ancient Synagogue Bevis Marks*, p. 137), when Iḥaḥam Isaac Nieto preached the sermon. (Published in Spanish, London: Richard Reilly, 1756.)

³ MS. Adler 1248 consists of ninety-one folio leaves, numbered recto only. Fol. 1 is a fly-leaf, fol. 2 contains short notes on various talmudical subjects. Fol. 3a begins with: פה לונדן יע"א ב"ה פ' בהעלותך דר"ש ליום המועד ע"פ ציוות המלך יר"ה תקט"ז לפק. This manuscript belonged to Mr. Adler's father, the late Chief Rabbi, Nathan M. Adler, and was sent to him as a Purim present by the Dayan R. Aaron, son of R. J. of Lissa. We find on the first fly-leaf the dedication: מנחה היא שלוחה לכבוד פורים תרט"ז מאת עבדו ואוהבו אהרן בר"י מליסא.

⁴ See Barbeck, *Gesch. d. Juden in Nürnberg und Fürth*, p. 84.

He deals with the question as to whether we are allowed to rejoice at the news of a great victory, which has involved the loss of so many thousands of precious lives. He refers also to the rise in the price of foodstuffs and to the bad economic conditions of the country. The poor especially suffered through the war, as the rich people selfishly complained of the sacrifices they had to make, and he pleaded earnestly for the support of the poor. He mentions also that nearly every kingdom in the world was at war. Interesting in this discourse is his reference to Aristotle (כתב אריסטו בספר המדות) who said: 'War is a hateful thing in itself. It brings death to many, distress to more, but when it is over and has brought peace and victory to a land it becomes a laudable achievement. Often, apparently trifling events cause war, so that it is difficult to understand how sane people should risk life and honour and fortune for such issues. Only the monarchs and the leaders of the peoples know the real reasons that cause wars—invariably it is the hope to enhance the renown of their countries; it is the prestige for which they are all fighting. "As the Macrocosmos, the world, so is Man, the Microcosmos."' R. Hirschel continues, 'we must wage war even on our smallest sins, because if we do not curb them in time they will overmaster us and self-victory will be more difficult. Men and nations must fight for self-respect and wage war against everything that threatens to reduce them to a lower level of morality'. These are Rabbi Hirschel's words in these critical days—great words of a great mind. In the further course of this sermon he speaks to his congregants as the Rabbi who is anxious for the strict observance of the religious ceremonies. 'I warn you against the small sins you have fallen victims to. The shaving of the beard,

a non-Jewish custom, strictly and repeatedly forbidden in our Torah; immorality among young people, the disregard of the laws of purity (ריני טבילה), the desecration of the Sabbath;⁵ these are all very important, but you regard them as minor matters, not realizing that they are the pillars on which Judaism stands. You direct a non-Jewish servant to light the fire, to make fresh tea or coffee on Sabbath. Do not forget that the punishment for this sin is that fire breaks out in your houses, according to the saying of the Talmud,⁶ "Firebrands happen, where people desecrate the Sabbath day." Jerusalem was burnt on account of that sin (MS. A. 1248, p. 26). People carry things on the day of rest even outside the city boundaries, likewise a transgression of an important commandment.⁷ The disregarding of the laws of purity brings the punishment of death by water upon you.' He says further, 'See what happened at Portsmouth, the punishment that came upon our brethren there through the waters. Because they disregarded the laws of purity, so many wives became widows, so many

⁵ Desecration of Sabbath is mentioned in the manuscript, on pages 12 b, 22 a, 47 b, 62 a, and 73 a.

⁶ See Talmud b. Shabbat 119 a.

⁷ The carrying of anything whatsoever on Sabbath day outside one's own house and precincts is strictly forbidden according to Jer. 17. 21-2. The Rabbis allowed to make an Erub = עירוב; which literally means mixing, and is done in the following manner. Two poles are fixed at the entrance to a street or number of streets connected with wire on top, like telegraph lines, and the area thus closed in was 'mixed' into one court. Within the boundaries thus marked it is allowed to carry things which may be handled on Sabbath. The City of London seems to have had such Erubim, or was regarded as mixed area, its boundaries being closed by the City bars. Rabbi Hirschel complains that people of his time already disregarded this religious rule and carried articles outside the City. He says: והנה עינינו הרואות כמה וכמה שנושאים משה אפילו חוץ לסמ"א במקום שאין שום היחר.

children are now orphans. All this should be a warning to us to fight the enemy within us, the evil spirit (יצר הרע).’ He concludes with a prayer for King and Country, beseeching that England’s victory may be followed by everlasting peace all over the world.

The incident of the drowning at Portsmouth to which he referred, happened on the second day of Adar I, 5518 (1758). We find an account of it in the Minute-book of the congregation (p. 7). (Paper by the Rev. I. S. Meisels in *Jewish Hist. Soc. Transactions*, vol. VI, p. 124.) The record says, ‘Eleven members of the congregation, young and old, lost their lives by drowning; the circumstances are not stated’. In memory of this disaster a Hazkarah (memorial-prayer), mentioning the names of the lost, is recited four times a year in the Synagogue at Portsmouth.

The sermons that follow generally open with a talmudical discourse, which must have lasted about one hour and a half, and continue with a sometimes equally long moral haggadic lecture. It was, in those days, a regular thing that the Rabbi, who only preached two or three times a year, gave on these occasions sermons of three, sometimes four, hours’ duration. The people mostly had a fair knowledge of Hebrew and nearly all could follow a midrashic interpretation, a ‘Wörtchen’ as it was called. To support one moral teaching the Rabbi would use two or three such Wörtchen, linked one into the other, which were a kind of intellectual gymnastics, keeping the interest of the listeners alive. Although the Rabbi had no obligation to preach more than three or four times, sometimes even only twice, a year—if he was as good and eloquent an orator as our Rabbi Hirschel, he preached more often. The gap was filled by travelling preachers, called Maggidim,

who used to travel from congregation to congregation, generally during the winter months, delivering sermons. There seem to have been such preachers in London, too, as Rabbi Hirschel refers to them in one of his discourses (MS. A. 1248, p. 44 a).

The Ashkenazi congregation was at the time of his tenure of office already fairly organized, apparently on the same principle as most of the continental communities of the time. Apart from giving decisions in ritual questions and preaching, the Rabbi's duties consisted in performing the ceremonies at weddings, *halizah*, and divorce cases. His chief duty was to study the Talmud and its commentaries and to spread this knowledge. A Rabbi's reputation and authority depended not so much upon what he actually did for the congregation as upon his fame as a great scholar, and the esteem in which he was held by Jewry at large. R. Hirschel had, as we have said, the reputation of being an eminent scholar, nevertheless he had the interest of his congregants also at heart. Although most of his time was spent in the study, he seemed to be well acquainted with everything that was going on in the community.

The London Jews of his time appear to have rapidly become Anglicized. They dressed like the Gentiles, shaved their beards; the ladies wore décolleté dresses. They associated with the English people, ate at their houses, and even went so far as to keep the Christian feasts to the neglect of their own. Christmas puddings seem to have been much favoured, and mixed marriages were not infrequent.⁸ They visited theatres and operas. There were coffee-houses

⁸ Pages 4 b and 35 a.

which became meeting-places for card-players.⁹ Apostates, however, were rare, because, as he says in a sermon, held on the 10th of Tebet, 5518, 'in this Country everybody can do publicly what his heart desires' (p. 4 a). He raises his voice fearlessly against all these transgressions. His warning against mixed marriages was in the following strain: 'The children of a non-Jewish wife are sure to become Christians, and, although the non-Jews of our days cannot be regarded as heathens, still they are in the category of "Ger toshab" ¹⁰ (גר תושב), are outside the Covenant of Abraham and have not taken upon themselves the observation of the Torah and its precepts (Mizwot). To marry a non-Jewish woman is, therefore, tantamount to abandoning the faith, even if she should become a Jewess.'

Festivals.

The laws of Passover, Sukkah, the dietary laws, were not observed in the proper manner. Referring to Sukkah he says, 'This precept commands us to eat and to drink, to live and to sleep in the Sukkah. God knows that I always endeavoured in my younger days to fulfil this Mizwah in its proper manner, and I was not satisfied until I succeeded in having a large room, beautifully furnished, adapted for the purpose. There I lived during the whole seven days of the festival. Now, my soul grieves that here I cannot fulfil this commandment as I ought to and as I used to do. The bulk of the people (המון עם) go into the Sukkah, say the blessing but do not eat even a morsel of bread (כזית) there, and go home to have their meal *outside*

⁹ Pages 69 a, 73 a. Card-playing was apparently very frequent, he mentions it often, see pp. 19 b, 24 b, 33 b, 73 a.

¹⁰ Literally : a settled stranger.

the Sukkah. What blasphemy! They not only do not keep the precept, but say a blessing in vain (MS. A., p. 35 a). They say, "God has commanded us to *dwell* in the Sukkah," and, as soon as they have said this, they go and transgress the command. The same applies to the Etrog; they pay a good price for it, and very often in their ignorance do not even examine whether one or more of the four plants are not unfit for use (פסול).

Concerning Sabbath he has also several other grievances to report. Apart from the already mentioned points, in connexion with the kindling of fire (see above, p. 112), he complains that sometimes even cooking itself is done, and that generally the Sabbath is not observed as the 'Holy day' it ought to be. 'If you are thus keeping the holy day', he exclaims, after having reproached them for various failings, 'by doing things which even the Gentiles do not do on Sundays, I ask you, "Why do you come to the House of God?" God knows how tired I am of my life, when I see all your doings: I am even afraid to hear what, I am told, is happening publicly, let alone of how you desecrate the Sabbath-day in private.' He mentions among other things that people have their letters opened in front of the Post Office on Sabbath. 'Although this is not forbidden', he says, 'I have heard that it is a scandal (חילול השם) in the eyes of the Gentiles.' What this means is not quite clear. It cannot refer to tearing the letters open, as he says, 'it is not forbidden'. I am inclined to think that many people gathered before the Post Office on Sabbath mornings and asked non-Jews to open their letters. The large gathering may have become a nuisance to the general public.

Fearlessly he raises his voice against all disobedience

to the law. 'Day by day', he says, 'we can see with our own eyes the decay of our people. We sin and act against the law of God; all our endeavours are to associate with the Gentiles and to be like them. That is the chief source of all our failings. See, the women wear wigs (פאה נכרית)¹¹ and the young ones go even further and wear décolleté dresses open two spans low in front and back (יוצאים ערומים), see pp. 12 b, 19 a, 33 a, 62 a, 70 a, and 70 b). Their whole aim is, not to appear like daughters of Israel (p. 16 b). On the one side we claim with pride that we are as good as any of our neighbours. We see that they live happily, that their commerce dominates the world, and we want to be like them, dress as they dress, talk as they talk, and want to make everybody forget that we are Jews. But, on the other hand, we are too modest and say: We are not better before God than the Gentiles, we all come from the same stock, are all descendants of Noah's three sons, and need not keep more than the seven precepts which the sons of Noah are obligated to observe. Know you that ideas like these are the ruin of Judaism? We must be conscious that we are the chosen people of God, the kingdom of Priests, and behave as it behoves "Israel", the Princes of the Almighty. Reverse the order! Be modest in your personal ambitions, be content with the material advantages you enjoy in this country, but be not modest with your faith. See where these thoughts lead you to, and how we live here. We dress on non-Jewish holidays better than on our own festivals; the Christmas pudding which the Christians prepare in memory of the Apostles

¹¹ Parḥon, the grammarian of the twelfth century, has already the same grievances. See his lexicon *מחברת הערוך*, Posonii, 1844, p. 57, s. v. צם. See also Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 4.

is more favoured than the Mazzoth. Even the children call the non-Jewish feasts "Holy" days and do not seem to know that our holy day is the Sabbath. Soon they will come to regard the "Habdalah" service (ceremony at the conclusion of Sabbath) as a sign for the beginning of the Sabbath.'

Communal Organization.

The only institutions the community apparently possessed were the Synagogues. Rabbi Hirschel does once mention in a sermon the Yeshibot, but only to state that they are vanishing. There was no hospital, and no schools were maintained by the congregation. The Rabbi had a Bet-Hamidrash in his own house, where he also held divine services. It appears that some one reproached him once for not coming frequently to Synagogue, and his answer was given in a discourse (p. 40 a) in which he appeals for more frequent attendance of the Synagogue. 'Then as an excuse for not coming to Synagogue you quote the text: "It is vain for you to rise up early, because you sit up late" (Ps. 127. 2), and my answer to you is likewise with the words of the Psalmist: (Ps. 19. 12: **נָם עֲבֹדךָ נֹהֵר בָּהֶם בְּשִׁמְרָם**) (עֲקֵב רַב) "My servant is warned by them, and they watch the heel of the great" (which is a witty translation instead of the literal meaning of the text; "in observing them there is great reward"). The people (**הַמִּין עִם**) indeed look at (**עֲקֵב רַב**) the heel of the Rav, how he walks and where he goes. I know full well that many criticize me for not coming to Synagogue, although I am certain that my coming would not increase the number of Synagogue-goers. "They stood each at the doors of their tents and looked after Moses" (Exod. 33. 8), can be equally

applied to myself, but I tell you: Do not judge me, you who sit in the evenings in beer-houses and music-halls, who sleep in the morning and do not come to the House of the Lord, and then say that you stay away because you follow my example. My conscience is quite clear; I pray to God in my Bet-Hamidrash, a place designed to the Glory of God. I do not sleep, but pray with a congregation of ten, at the same time as the service in the Synagogue is being held, so that I fulfil all the requirements of the Law. I would, nevertheless, go to Synagogue (מפני כבוד הצבור) out of respect for the congregation, but for my weak state of health. The congregation knows that not the desire for sleep keeps me away, but the physical impossibility of attending.' In another sermon (p. 35 a) he refers again to Synagogue-attendance, and protests against people who had contracted mixed marriages having the audacity to demand being called up to the Torah.

The decorum in the Synagogue cannot have been above reproach. People gossiped during the Service (24 b). 'Within the Synagogue all seem to be friends and have confidential news to tell one another, but outside disunion reigns among the members' (p. 12 a). He attributes the cause of disunion to the desire to be more than one's neighbour, and to false pride.

We find also a reference to the Shehitah. The Shoḥetim were often irreligious and he feels helpless against this evil: 'The Shoḥetim are devoid of Mizwot and ignorant, and what can the Rav do?' are his words (והשוחתים שלהם נערים מנוערים מן המצות ומה יעשה הרב), p. 12 b). 'The former times were better than these. See how many hospitals and houses for the poor were built and maintained, and here, with us, not one such institution is to be found.

If any one does support a poor man or a poor official, they would like him to behave as if he were their slave and not like the man of self-respect that he was in former days. (Very likely a personal note.) Try and imitate the Gentiles in this! See how many houses for the poor they have built and surrounded with beautiful gardens. They have houses for learning, called Academies, where anybody who has a thirst for knowledge can go and study, all his wants being provided for; but we do not possess even one single Bet-Hamidrash. Look at our brethren the Sephardim (p. 19 b), they have a Bet-Hamidrash and support several scholars. Although this support is small and they have to find additional means of livelihood, nevertheless the congregation is doing its best and deserves praise for it. Especially laudable are they as many Ba'ale Batim (householders) also take part in the Shiur (Portion of study). We, the Ashkenazim, have neither a place where to learn, nor where to teach, and the "kindness of Gentiles" thus becomes our destruction, for we are too well treated and so forget our Torah.' The Gentiles, he says on another occasion (Intercession Service held in 1759, p. 24 b), are versed in the whole twenty-four books of the Bible, but our people are so ignorant that they can really recite all they know while standing on one foot.¹² They waste their time in coffee-houses and clubs playing cards, instead of devoting some hours, when free from business, to the study of the Torah. It is done in other congregations not far from us, e.g. in Amsterdam. 'It were better if you would

¹² Referring to Talm. B. Shabbat, p. 31 a: Hillel was asked by a heathen to teach him the whole Torah while he was standing on one foot. Hillel answered him: 'Do not do to your neighbour what you would not like yourself'; that is the whole Torah, everything else is only the commentary, go and study'.

read at least secular books instead of playing cards.’¹³ In another sermon (p. 18 b) we find again bitter complaints of the neglect to teach Torah to children and young people. ‘The Yeshibot are going from bad to worse and the children, while they are quite young are, first of all, taught by their parents the English language and customs, and when they grow older they do not want to learn Hebrew. Thus it happens that when an old scholar dies, there is nobody to take his place. In olden times the saying of Ecclesiastes (I. 5) “The sun arises, the sun goes down” was true, for when the sun of one Rabbi went under, another one arose and gave light to Israel. We find that on the day Rabbi Akiba died Rabbi Judah Hanasi was born. In these times when a scholar departs from this life he is lost for ever to Judaism, there are no young men to replace him, and thus the succession of scholars in Israel is broken. All this is the result of our mixing among the Gentiles and of the desire to be like them.’

Historical Notes.

In connexion with this exposition he mentions, as was customary in Memorial orations, the loss of Rabbis who had died within that year (1757-8). Their names are : (1) Moses Lwow Rabbi in Nikolsburg ;¹⁴ (2) Abraham Moller

¹³ הלא טוב לקרות בספרי סיפורי מלחמות, see A., p. 27 a.

¹⁴ מהו"ר משה לבוב אב"ר דק"ק נ"ש, Moses Aaron Lemberger known also as Moses Lwow was first Rabbi in Leipnik, afterwards in Berlin, and lastly Landrabbiner of Moravia in Nikolsburg, where he died 17th Tebet, 5518, 28th Dec., 1757. See Feuchtwang in *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 378, and Landshut, *op. cit.*, 23.

of Bamberg;¹⁵ (3) Wolf Rabbi of Friedberg;¹⁶ (4) Meir of Hannover;¹⁷ (5) Abraham Rabbi of Emden;¹⁸ (6) Leb of Heitzfeld;¹⁹ (7) Jacob of Greditz (Graetz);²⁰ (8) Isaac of Hanau;²¹ (9) Akiba Eger Rabbi of Pressburg;²² and (10) Zevi Hirsch of Hildesheim.²³ In another Hespel (Memorial Service) held on the 17th of Tammuz, 5522 = 1762 (p. 71a) he mentions the death of his relative 'the Rabbi of Berlin', referring to David Fraenkel,²⁴ Mendelssohn's teacher; the Rabbi of Fuerth,²⁵ likewise

¹⁵ מו"ה אברהם מאליר אב"ד דק"ק באמבערג. See Kaufmann, פנקס פירוש התורה, vol. VII, p. 27. He was formerly Rabbi of Oettingen. See his approbation to Baruk b. Elkana's פירוש התורה, Fürth, 1752.

¹⁶ מוה וואלף אב"ד דק"ק פרידבורג.

¹⁷ מו"ה מאיר אב"ד דק"ק הנובר. See Emden, *Megillat Sefer*, p. 144 and D. Kaufmann in *Monatsschrift*, 1896, pp. 220 and 274.

¹⁸ מו"ה אברהם אב"ד דק"ק עמירען.

¹⁹ מו"ה ליב אב"ד דק"ק היינפעלט. Heitzfeld or Hatzfeld is Heidingsfeld near Würzburg in Bavaria.

²⁰ Jacob of Greditz = נרעריין דק"ק יעקב אב"ד דק"ק was the son of R. Hirsch of Pintschow and became Rabbi of Glogau. He was an ancestor of Rabbi Dr. Kaempf of Prague. See Landshut, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and Emden in *Edut Beja'akob*, p. 59a.

²¹ מו"ה איצק אב"ד דק"ק הענא.

²² מו"ה עקיבא איגר אב"ד דק"ק פרעשבורג. Akiba Eger the Elder was Rabbi of Pressburg, died 15th of September, 1757 (and not, as Zunz, *Monatslage*, has it, in 1746). He was author of the work *Mishnat de R. Akiba*. See Auerbach, *Gesch. d. Juden in Halberstadt*.

²³ מו"ה צבי הירש אב"ד דק"ק הילדעסהיים.

²⁴ שארי הנ"אב"ד דק"ק ברלין. David Fraenkel was a teacher of the Philosopher, Solomon Maimon, and author of the work *קרבן עדה*, a commentary on the Palest. Talmud (see Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn*). He was at first Rabbi in Dessau, and became Rosh-Beth-Din in Berlin on the 14th Ab, 1743, and died, 55 years old, on 12 Nisan, 1762.

²⁵ Died, 81 years old, on May 21, 1762. He was formerly Rabbi in Hollerschau and Worms, and was born in Frankfurt, ca. 1681. See

without mentioning his name, referring to David Strauss of Frankfurt, and Rabbi Moses Rapp,²⁶ Dayan of Frankfurt on-the-Main.

There are only two other historical references in this volume of sermons. The one is the mention of the Jews who were drowned at Portsmouth, of which we have already spoken, and the other is an appeal for the congregation of Jungbunzlau in Bohemia (בומסלא), where the Synagogue was destroyed by fire (Discourse on Sabbath Teshubah, 5522, p. 73).

The neglect of the Torah studies seems to have been his chief grievance against the London community. It occurs many times in the MS., but the following is, I think, worth quoting, 'Instead of gathering in the houses of learning people go to operas, plays, concerts, and clubs.²⁷ There is no respect for learning and learned men. Why then should a boy be anxious to study the Law? He cannot yet grasp the meaning of Olam Habba (namely, that by studying Torah he fulfils a divine command for which he will receive reward in the world to come), what other attraction could a child have than the wish to become a Rav, a great and honoured man? If, however, the men of Torah are not held in respect the child, naturally, has no wish to study, and thus the Torah is forgotten. Our Sages in the Mishnah say: "Raise up many disciples" (Abot c. 1, Mishnah 1). I was not able to follow this rule in your congregation. I have no pupils, not even a col-

L. Loewenstein, *Jahrb. d. Lit. Ges. Frankfurt*, vol. VI, 1908-9, p. 187; Barbeck, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg und Fürth*, p. 64.

²⁶ וְהַמְאֹר הַגָּדוֹל מוֹ"ה מִשָּׁה רַאפֶּף ר"ב דק"ק פ"פ דמיינ, died 27 Adar, 1762; see Horowitz, *Frankf. Grab.*, p. 338.

²⁷ לֹא־בָרַע לְפָלֵעַ לְקוֹנְסֵטֶרַט לְקִלָּאב. See also MS. A., pp. 69 a and 73 a for similar expressions.

league (חבר) with whom I could pursue my studies. Even the learned men in the community fail to train their children in the study of the Torah. I had one pupil, and that was my son (R. Saul), but I had to send him away to another country. There he found his helpmate (wife), and I have found no other pupil since (p. 41 a).²⁷ 'When God showed me the way to this congregation', he says in 1762, 'which elected me to serve them in the name of the Lord, I came with the scroll of the Law to you, to propound His teachings among you, and that is my work which I carry on my shoulders. I established a Yeshibah but have not succeeded with it. What is left to me now but my voice "to publish righteousness in the great congregation" (Ps. 40. 10)? See, I have not closed my lips, had no fear of anybody, have done nothing with the object of finding favour in the eyes of anybody, or in order to gain pecuniary advantage. To God alone do I look for help, and have never made gold my idol. Thanks to the Almighty I possess enough of gold and silver, but do not think that I acquired it here. God knows, one cannot become rich from a Rabbinate; all one acquires from the holy service can virtually be carried on one shoulder.'²⁸

His one desire was to keep the flame of knowledge alive; to that he devoted all his energy, but to the end of his days he never liked the office of Rabbi. He considered it a bitter path, a bread of misery, and expresses this feeling in a Hebrew poem written in later life: 'O God! From Thy hand alone I ask for the portion of my inheritance (Ps. 16. 5), be it large or small. I shall thank Thee for an olive-leaf even, but do not let me fall into the hand

²⁸ כי עבודת הקודש עליהם בכתף ישאו (Num. 7. 9).

of man.' (See *Hammagid*, 1870, p. 125, and Landshut, p. 109.)

In London he did not find the field where his work would bear fruit: 'The pillars of the Torah totter, very few are the students of the Law who desire to rise to a higher standard, and these few are scattered into the different distant parts of the town, live therefore a lonely life and cannot profit from one another. There are no Talmud-Torahs for children, and what will be the future of Judaism if this state of affairs continues? See what is being done in nearly every congregation, large or small, in Germany. Are they larger than yours or richer than you? And yet how many Synagogues and Bate Midrashim have they founded to the Glory of God, as a sign that Judaism is eternal and will never become extinct (62 b).'

He urged for co-operation with the Sephardi community (pp. 7 and 17 a). The Passover lamb, he says, had to be eaten in separate unions (חבורה), but for its preparation all Israel entered at one door; so should we, too, even though we be two distinct congregations, in matters that concern all Jewry, co-operate and act together.

In many instances he combines reflections of a religious-philosophical nature with his moral teachings. Already in those days there were people in London, who disregarded the Jewish religious ceremonies. He was a clear thinker, and had a profound knowledge of Maimuni's *Guide of the Perplexed*, from which he took most of his philosophical arguments, and made effective use of them in combating the views of the half-educated Jew of the day (cited on pp. 4 a, 31 b, 32 b, 33 a, 39 b). 'By studying philosophy in a superficial manner people became unbelievers. After reading three or four pages of a philosophical book they

think they have found more wisdom than is to be found in all the folios of both the Talmuds' (p. 15 b). Maimonides and Bāhya said that the chief precept of Judaism was to arrive at the belief in God by means of intellectual contemplation.²⁰ Others argued against this view, holding that it is better to believe without trying to understand. Belief is called in Hebrew 'Emunah' = trust. As no human mind can attain to *understand* God, those who think they have reached that standard are only deceiving themselves. What they really have achieved is, that they believe in themselves, in the great power of their own mind (p. 33 a). We Jews have to believe in the Torah and its precepts as revealed to us by God and as handed down to us in the oral tradition. Human beings can never succeed in understanding God's Being. Maimonides, who considered that the highest human perfection lay in truly grasping the essence of God's Being, did not mean this literally but only said it as an apology against aggressions by the religious thinkers of other nations. He also tried to give reasons for all the Mizvot, but he failed. More true is the view of our Rabbis, that mankind reaches the understanding of God only when the body parts from the soul. The thirteen articles of the creed are supposed to embody every precept of the Torah. All the 613 Mizvot are only the means for the attainment of the belief contained in these articles. If that were so, why should not people say: 'I believe in all these "Ikkarim" (articles of creed), will say them every day, and then I need not do anything else, as all the other precepts are only intended to bring man to the belief in God and to prevent him from being an idolater'. This argument would be quite in accordance with the teaching of Maimonides,

²⁰ See Maimonides, *Moreh*, II, 33.

and shows at once the fallacy of his doctrine, that the thirteen articles contain the essence of Jewish religion. R. Hirschel comes to the conclusion that all precepts are of divine origin and all equally important. They are not only means to an end or a preventive against idol worship, but are in themselves a safeguard against the wickedness of mankind. The Mizvot are holy because their intention is to make us holy and bring us nearer to God. Man cannot decide which precept is important and which is not. For this reason it happens that people who by philosophical thinking want to attain the understanding of God mostly fall into sin.

The spirit of enlightenment seems to have spread to London, and his references to the 'Philosophers' were probably meant for those who studied the books of the Measphim, the forerunners of modern Jewish research. We must not think, from what we have just heard, that R. Hirschel was opposed to all learning which fell outside the sphere of the Talmud. Like his uncle, Jacob Emden, he possessed a deep historical sense, a critical mind far in advance of the Rabbi of those days. Most students of his time concerned themselves exclusively with the Halakic side of the Talmud. To them it was of more interest to know what a Rabbi in the Talmud said and how he decided a Din (point of law), than to know that Rabbi Judah Hanasi was not a contemporary of Rabbi Akiba. Rabbi Hirschel, however, held that the Talmud cannot be properly understood without a thorough knowledge of its chronology. He impressed upon his students to study the methodology of the Talmud, and recommended them to read Samuel Hanagid's *Mebo Hatalmud*, Simson of Chinon's *Sefer Keritut* and other books of the kind.

Later, when Rabbi of Halberstadt and head of an important Rabbinical school, he used to give an historical introduction to his lectures. The sources of the text, the commentators and their periods were all discussed before he actually commenced the reading of the Talmud proper. When he heard of the publication of Heilprin's *Seder Hadorot*, which was printed in his time in Karlsruhe, he was full of joy. The publisher asked him for an approbation of the work, but he answered: 'A work like this does not need any approbation; that the sun shines nobody need testify' (Auerbach, p. 92).

One of the reasons for his dissatisfaction with his position in London was that he felt his preaching had not made people more religious. On Sabbath Teshubah, 1760 (p. 35a), he says: 'When first I came here I was anxious to do something great, something that would benefit the whole congregation. I had made up my mind that nothing should be too much trouble for me if I could only diminish religious transgression and lead my flock into the right path. You brought me from a far-off land across the ocean, incurring great expense thereby, and I said to myself, "This surely is the work of God". Although I knew my worth to be little, I thought of the saying of our Fathers: "Those who occupy themselves with communal matters the merits of their Fathers are their help" (Abot, c. 2; Mishnah 2). I had courage and hoped to succeed in my endeavours. Now, after having been with you for four years, and never having refrained from pointing out your failings, I see that nobody has hearkened to me and that things have not improved in any way (p. 70b). I know, you have often wondered why I repeat so frequently my reproaches about your trans-

gressions of the Laws of Sabbath and the festivals, of your failings in public and private life, about the behaviour of your women-folk, although I saw that my words had no effect. But what else could I do if I would fulfil my duty? God had spoken to me: "Call out with thy voice, do not keep back, raise thy voice like a Shofar and tell my people their sins and the house of Jacob their failings". I know also there are many scoffers among you, who, like the Rasha' (wicked man) in the Passover Haggadah, tell you: *מה העבודה הווא לכם* "What good is this service to you?" What right has the Rav to speak in the Synagogue of your private doings? My answer to these people is: *לי בעבור זה עשה ה'* "It is my sad lot for which I was destined by Almighty God, it is my duty, which I shall not be deterred from fulfilling" (p. 70 a).'

Half a year later, on the 17th of Tammuz, 1762, he exclaims (p. 73 b): 'God Almighty only knows how weary I am of my life here. I cannot bear any longer to behold all that you do in public and in your private life. Is it not enough that for nearly 1,700 years we have been expelled from the table of our Father, are like sheep without a shepherd, and (*בעו"ה*) how many misfortunes have befallen us, how many kinds of illnesses have we and our children to bear, how many terrible wars have come upon us, and all this on account of our sins'.

Notwithstanding the vigour of these utterances he was a man of even and calm temperament. He was averse to all sort of quarrel: 'It is more necessary to avoid strife than to keep a fast-day' he says (p. 17 b). His general outlook on life was likewise calm and peaceful. 'Forgetfulness', he says (p. 71 a) 'is very necessary'. Our sages recommend the provision of a number of wine-cups in

a house of mourning, so that the people may drink and forget sorrow and pain. To worry over the past is not the act of a wise man. It increases melancholy and deranges the mind of man.³⁰

R. Hirschel in Halberstadt.

In spite of this calm view of life he seems to have become more and more dissatisfied with his life in London. A few months later, at the beginning of the year 1763, the Halberstadt community opened negotiations with him, offering him the position of Chief Rabbi in their congregation. On the 16th of Shevat, 5523 (= February, 1763), R. Elijah, son of Naphtali Hirsch Fraenkel, Parnas in Halberstadt, who was on business in Berlin, writes home as follows: 'One of the leading men of the Berlin community had said to him, that if the people of Halberstadt elect the Rabbi of London, they simply pave the way for him to Berlin. Halberstadt would only be a halting stage and give the Berlin community a splendid opportunity for observing the pastoral activity of the Rabbi, and enable them to judge whether he was worthy of the Rabbinate of Berlin'. When, a few months later, the Parnasim of Halberstadt recommended him for election (Sivan, 1763) a letter was written to him, in which this passage of the Parnas's letter was quoted, the Parnasim expressing their anxiety that the possibility mentioned might become true. The letter of the Parnasim says further: 'They had heard that the study of Torah was very much neglected in

³⁰ וכן ציוו חז"ל להרבות כוסות בבית האבל למען ישתה וישכח רישו, כי הראגנות על העבר וודאי אינן מופעולות החכם יען ישמרה השחורה ומביא ערבוב הדעת באדם. (See Talm. Babli Ketubot 8b; Krauss, *Talm. Archäologie*, II, p. 70; A. Buechler, *Am-ha-arez*, p. 210.)

London and was causing him to be dissatisfied with his position and that, for this reason, he was anxious to exchange his present office for one in a really observant congregation on the Continent'. It having happened to them on a former occasion that a Rabbi, whom they had elected, had, on his way to them, accepted a call from another congregation,³¹ they were now anxious to avoid a recurrence of such an event. For this reason they must ask him to give them not only his consent in writing, but also an undertaking to commence his duties within six months after his election, and not to leave them before three years had passed. R. Hirschel replies in a letter, remarkable for its beautiful Hebrew style, that he was willing to accept the position offered to him; but the undertaking asked for he did not give until the month of Shebat, 1764, when he received in exchange for it his Contract of Appointment, called 'Rabbinical Letter' (כתב רבנות). This was handed to him in Amsterdam by Samuel Halberstadt. In another letter written in London on the 22nd Shebat, 1764, Rabbi Hirschel signifies his intention of coming to Halberstadt between Pesah and Shabuot of the same year. The Contract of Appointment is dated the 14th of Ab, 1763. He was to receive a salary of three hundred Thaler (£150—in London he had £250), a free house suitable for his position, and certain fees for marriages and other ceremonies. The community undertook to assist the Rabbi in founding or re-establishing a Rabbinical Academy (Yeshibah) by providing for the

³¹ The Rabbi was R. Jacob Cohen Poppers, who on his way to Halberstadt was elected Rabbi of Frankfurt a. M. and remained there without ever going to Halberstadt. He was first Rabbi in Koblenz. In Frankfurt he was the teacher of R. Tevele Schiff (see later), and died 70 years old on Sabbath, 22nd Shevat, 1740 (Horowitz, *Frankf. Rabb.*, II, pp. 82 and 105.

maintenance of twelve scholars. On his election the district of Ravensberg rejoined the Halberstadt community and undertook to pay the Rabbi a separate salary. His moving expenses were defrayed by the congregation and amounted, according to a detailed account in the possession of the congregation, to 481 Thaler, 11 Groschen, and 6 Pfennig. The Rabbi received on his installation the customary Derashah present³² consisting of 179 Thaler and 8 Groschen (Auerbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 91).

His predecessor in Halberstadt was R. Meir Barbi,³³ who in 1763 was elected Rabbi of Pressburg. According to Auerbach, who gives no authority for his statement (p. 91), R. Hirschel arrived in Halberstadt on the 1st of Sivan, 1764. This date does not seem quite beyond question. He signs an approbation to the book: שנות חיים (printed in Amsterdam, 1765) in Amsterdam on Friday, the 27th of Tammuz, 1764, where he says: 'I am on my way to, and looking forward to officiate in, Halberstadt'.³⁴ Landshut, referring to this approbation, says that he went to see his relations in Amsterdam, his brother Saul being chief Rabbi there. So far he is quite correct, R. Hirschel went to the wedding of his daughter Sarah, who was married to R. Jacob Moses, the son of his brother Saul. He is, however, not correct when he says that R. Hirschel went soon after his installation from Halberstadt to Amsterdam. He passed through that city on his way from London, as he clearly states in the approbation just referred to,

³² Derashah present was given to the Rabbi on preaching his first sermon (Derashah), similar to a wedding present likewise called by the same name, on account of the discourse of the bridegroom delivered at the wedding or on the preceding Sabbath.

³³ Meir Barbi, author of שו"ת מה"רם ברבי, Dyhrenfurt-Prag, 1786-92.

³⁴ העומד עלי דרך ומצפה לק"ה האלברשטט והמרינה.

which, curiously enough, is mentioned by Landshut. In the work *Zevi Lazzaddik*, published by Zevi Ezekiel Michelsohn, Rabbi of Plonsk (printed in Piotrkow, 1904), is published a letter, bearing no date, of Eliezer Libermann, Dayan in London, addressed to Rabbi Hirschel, who was then in Amsterdam on his way to Halberstadt.³⁵ Libermann congratulates the Rabbi and his brother, the Rabbi of Amsterdam, on the occasion of the wedding of their children. He also mentions that a young student (בחור אחר) who left Halberstadt two months previously and had arrived in London had told him of the elaborate preparations the Halberstadt community were making for the reception of the Rabbi. A fine house 'filled with everything of the best' was in readiness for him, and the community was awaiting his arrival like the advent of a festival. R. Hirschel in his reply to Libermann does not refer to anything of a personal nature, but confines himself to the ritual question asked. He writes that he is very worried and low spirited and subscribes himself, 'Your friend, who is troubled on all sides and careworn, who writes with a weak hand, &c. Zevi Hirsch' (Michelsohn, *loc. cit.*, p. 71). Although no exact date is given the earliest at which R. Hirschel could have written this letter is the month of Elul, as he sends New Year greetings to Libermann. He was therefore not only in Tammuz (date of the approbation just mentioned above) but also in Elul still in Amsterdam. It consequently seems more likely that he entered upon his duties in Halberstadt shortly before the New Year, 5525 = 1764 and not, as Auerbach states, that he came on

³⁵ See also letter of Meshullam Zalman Emden to his father in the 'Get of Cleve' affair, dated 20 Tammuz, 1767, in *Or Hayashar*, p. 79 a, where he mentions Libermann.

the 1st of Sivan. The wedding of his daughter probably took place soon after the Fast of Ab and only after that day could he have left for his new place of activity. He could not possibly have come there in Sivan and gone away again for two months shortly afterwards, while he might have remained in Amsterdam for that period *before* proceeding to Halberstadt.

Soon after his arrival he was called upon to settle a dispute between the congregation and his predecessor R. Meir Barbi. A certain R. Sender, of Braunschweig, had presented the congregation with the sum of 6,000 Thaler, the interest of which was to be given one half to Rabbi Barbi and the other half was to be used for charitable purposes. When the Rabbi left for Pressburg the donor wrote to the wardens instructing them that they should not send the half share of the income from the said fund to Rabbi Meir. The latter made a protest, and the newly appointed Rabbi Hirschel successfully brought about an understanding between the parties, Barbi receiving in commutation a sum equal to the interest for five and a half years, and after the year 1768 the half share was to be given to the Rabbi of Halberstadt for the time being.

In Halberstadt our Rabbi's chief care was devoted to the development of his rabbinical school. He succeeded in bringing it to fame, and many of his pupils became great Rabbinical authorities in later years. One of his pupils was R. Loeb Eger, Rabbi in Halberstadt, another, Rabbi Issachar Berisch, became Rabbi of Hannover. His pastoral activity outside this Yeshibah made him generally respected and honoured.

His congregants had unbounded confidence in his honesty and clearness of judgement, and he was able to

bring to satisfactory conclusion many cases of dispute which had been before the Bet Din of Halberstadt for many years previous to his arrival.

Nevertheless, he did not long remain in Halberstadt. In 1770 he left for Mannheim. Auerbach gives two reasons for his relinquishing the office at Halberstadt. The congregation of Bleicherode, formerly belonging to the district of Halberstadt, had some dispute with the latter congregation and Hirschel decided in Halberstadt's favour. Thereupon a certain unnamed individual insinuated that he decided in this way, on account of his dislike of the Bleicherode people, who did not welcome him on his arrival as other congregations of the neighbourhood had done. This was declared publicly, and was a grave charge against the Rabbi's impartiality as judge, and an attack on his honesty. Although the Halberstadt community did everything in their power to repair the assault on their Rabbi's honour, he himself never forgot the incident. The other reason for his relinquishing the office, mentioned by Auerbach, is that there were many adherents of Eybeschütz in the community. Rabbi Hirschel had in earlier years written several letters in defence of his uncle Jacob Emden. He had, as we have mentioned, tried to bring about a reconciliation between him and Eybeschütz, but failed. Although in later years he is not known to have taken any active part in the dispute, the fact that he was a nephew of Emden and son of R. Aryeh Loeb of Amsterdam, Emden's vigorous supporter, was sufficient reason for the adherents of Eybeschütz to regard him as their enemy. The appointment of a Shoḥet with an authorization from Eybeschütz may have been regarded by him as a personal slight, and confirmed him in his decision to leave Halberstadt.

A letter written by Abraham Halberstadt, one of the Rabbis of that place, to Jeremiah Levy of Berlin,³⁶ is worth quoting, as being an impartial opinion of his work in Halberstadt, Abraham having been an admirer of Eybeschütz, and consequently not a friend of the Emden family. He says: 'That the great man has gone away from us is felt as a real loss by everybody. His personal virtues, his activity in the community and in the Yeshibah deserve all praise. We were proud to have such a scholar at the head of our community. Who will replace him? He has undoubtedly left a difficult position for his successor whoever it be, for he will never gain laurels or recognition however much he may try to imitate his predecessor. The splendour of his personality is still before the eyes of all, and where one was used to something good, only the better can be appreciated. To achieve being better than he is, is indeed very difficult. Already there are cracks in the body of the Yeshibah, which I fear will be followed by its entire collapse. More than half of the Baḥurim (scholars) have already left, and they were the best ones. Still it may be God has ordered it so, that no strife should ensue in Israel. The small spark of disunion which has been glimmering in the congregation might have increased if he had remained'. To judge from the last part of this letter, R. Hirschel's relationship with Emden was at least one of the causes of his departure from Halberstadt. (See Auerbach, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192 ff.)

R. Hirschel in Mannheim.

In Mannheim he succeeded Samuel Helman, or Hilman,

³⁶ Brother of Judah Levy, grandfather of Adelheid wife of Dr. Zunz (see Landshut, p. 120).

who had been one of the chief supporters of Jacob Emden. He accepted a smaller salary than he had at his former place (Halberstadt), proving how little he valued worldly goods where his principles and conviction were at stake.

He was not to find rest and satisfaction even in Mannheim. In a sermon preached there on Sabbath Teshubah (between New Year and Atonement-day) of the year אש"ך: 5531 = 1771, he complains of slanders which were very frequent there. (See *Zevi Laz.*, p. 135.) 'I always heard that Mannheim was a great kehillah', he said, 'but it is not really so, they are very provincial' (ומאז שמעתי אומרים) (שקהלה הזאת גדולה ומעו בזה שהיא כאילו גדולה מאד).

Mannheim at that time was a very observant congregation, and consisted of 264 families (Loewenstein, *Kurpfalz*, p. 256). He once said, by way of a joke, that in London he had money but no Jews, in Mannheim Jews but no money, and in Berlin no money and no Jews (Loewenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 255). He had been elected to Mannheim in 1768, but did not go because he expected a call to Berlin, and when, in 1770, he finally accepted the call, he stayed there barely three years. His ministration left so little mark that Carmoly doubted his ever having held the office of Rabbi in Mannheim.³⁷ Very likely the negotiations with Berlin commenced soon after his arrival, and that may have diverted his mind and prevented him from initiating anything important. The Contract of his election to Berlin is dated the 1st of Iyyar, 1772 (Landshut, pp. 78-80; Michelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 149), while the negotiations had commenced as early as 1771.

³⁷ To the proofs mentioned by Loewenstein for his having officiated in Mannheim (p. 255, note) is now to be added the sermon in Michelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

(To be continued.)

THE RESPONSA OF THE BABYLONIAN GEONIM AS A SOURCE OF JEWISH HISTORY*

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I (*concluded*).

5. *Two anonymous letters by Babylonian Geonim.*

THE two fragments printed here bear the evident stamp of Babylonian provenance. Fragment A, T.-S. 13 J. 25⁵, paper, square hand, brownish ink, is a long part of an appeal for support of the academy. Only a few lines seem to be missing from the beginning of the letter which contains bitter complaints and reproaches about the complete indifference the outside communities show towards the school in Babylon. The fragment has a close resemblance to *Saadyana*, nos. XLV and XLVI. The same plaintive tone is characteristic of all of them. Emphasis is given to the fact that the school is deteriorating owing to want from which its members are suffering. Only with great difficulty are talented young men prevailed upon to remain in the school. Rather than suffer want, they prefer to seek a livelihood elsewhere (cp. our fragment, ll. 19 ff.). The verse of 2 Chron. 31. 4 (l. 30) is also quoted in *Saadyana*, no. XLVI, recto, l. 67.

Interesting is the mention of מדרש התנאים (l. 21), which seems to have consisted of the study of the Mishnah attended by still youthful disciples (ll. 21-2). The אמורי התלמוד (l. 23) were already grown-up scholars themselves, having children who refrained from attending the academy

* See vols. VII, 457-90, VIII, 339-66.

owing to their being obliged to earn a living. The תנאים of the school are also mentioned in another Genizah-letter from a Babylonian Gaon (cp. *ƳQR.*, XVIII, 404 (והתנא' והתלמיד' 771; see also *Ahimaas Chron.*, Neub. II, 130, (ואל הישיבה לתלמידים ולתנאים).

Of more intrinsic importance is fragment B, which I have found in T.-S., Box K 21, marked on the wrapper as 'Didactic letters'.⁷⁷ It consists of four leaves of a quire, paper, size 17 x 12 cm., square hand with a turn to cursive. After examination, the leaves turned out to contain specimens of letters for various occasions. Complimentary letters of no special interest cover leaves 1 and 2. There is a gap between leaves 2 and 3. Fragment B then follows on leaves 3 and 4 (verso, first line). The rest of verso of leaf 4 contains a specimen of a letter of condolence (ניחומים). It is evident that a copyist made a selection of letters emanating from a head of a school. Thus fragment B is not the original, but there is no ground for doubting that the copyist had before him an original letter by a Gaon residing in Bagdad (fol. 4, recto, l. 7). The Gaon requests his correspondent to send questions on subjects concerning Bible, Mishnah, and Talmud, and also the usual donations (ll. 16-18). The same request we read in the letter by a Gaon of Pumbedita, dated 953 C.E. (*ƳQR.*, XVIII, 403, ll. 19 ff., ותתדיר . . . שאלותיך בין מן המקרא בין מן המשנה בין מן (התלמוד).

But the chief interest of the fragment lies in the author's defence of the Rabbinic tradition. A number of traditional laws, not mentioned in the Pentateuch, can be derived from the other books of the Bible. This proves that they existed in early times. Some of them are mentioned in the

⁷⁷ The permanent class-mark of this fragment is now T.-S. 13 J. 31. 4.

Bible, exclusive of the Pentateuch, but most of them were known to the scholars and handed down from generation to generation (fol. 4, recto, ll. 1-5). In deducing a number of traditional laws from the Prophets and the Hagiographa, the writer of the letter shows in several points independence from the Talmudic method, a fact unexpected from a Babylonian Gaon and one that does not fail to enhance the interest in the argument which will be discussed here in detail.

The verse of 1 Sam. 20. 27 is evidently cited to prove the existence of two days ראש חדש (fol. 3, recto, ll. 1-2). Rashi and Kimḥi translate ממחרת החדש השני as the second day of the month. But Targum apparently took the phrase to mean the second day of New Moon.⁷⁸ We find Benjamin Nehawendi accepting this inference.⁷⁹ Also Saadya took the verse in this meaning, against which Jefet b. 'Ali polemizes (cp. Pozn., *ƳQR.*, X, 251).⁸⁰ Also Salman b. Jeruḥam

⁷⁸ Ed. Lagarde, ביומא דבתרוהי דהוא עבור ירחא תניינא, 'on the following day which was the עבור of the second month', i. e. the second day of the month, for which the technical term is עבור. Dr. Büchler has drawn my attention to the fact that it is not the preceding month that is called מעובר, as is generally assumed and stated, but the new month. In Erub. 39a (Mishnah and Baraita) we read ראש השנה יהיה ירא שמא תתעבר, not Elul, but ר"ה would be מעובר; Rashi supplements שמא יעשו בי"ד מעובר, which is not in the Mishnah. See also Shebiit 10², השוחט את הפרה וחלקה בר"ה אם היה החדש מעובר משמט אלול, which is not in the Mishnah. The commentators supply אלול after החדש. But in the light of Erub. 39a the החדש here is the month on which the day of New Year falls, viz. Tishri. Thus in Targum ומונין שגם ראשי חדשים מתעברין שנ' ויסתר דויד . . . ואמר ויהי החדש (עבור דירחא תניינא) can only be translated 'the second day of the second (or new) month', i. e. the second day of New Moon.

⁷⁹ Cp. the extract printed by Harkavy, *Studien u. Mittheilungen*, VIII, 176, ומונין שגם ראשי חדשים מתעברין שנ' ויסתר דויד . . . ואמר ויהי החדש וממחרת החדש השני ללמדך שגם ראשי חדשים מתעברין.

⁸⁰ Aaron b. Elijah, גן עדן, 5a, also quotes Saadya's view, פוגה שנית, אך אמר ויהי ממחרת השני וזה מורה כי עשו ראש חדש שני ימים וזה

argues against the two days of New Moon in the diaspora.⁸¹ Likewise the Karaite Aaron b. Joseph in *מבחר ישרים*, ed. Firkowitz, Koslov, 1835, to 1 Sam. (7^a), refutes the deduction of the second day of New Moon from this verse.⁸²

Jer. 17. 22 tells us about the prohibition of carrying burdens from *רשות היחיד* to *רשות הרבים* which is not mentioned in the Pentateuch (fol. 3, recto, ll. 7-10). The very same argument was used by a disciple of Saadya, Jacob b. Samuel (cp. about him Pozn., *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, 169 ff.), as is evident from the retort of Jefet b. 'Ali.⁸³ Likewise Isa. 58. 13 as denoting that no common talk (*דברי הול*) should be indulged in on the Sabbath (fol. 3, recto, ll. 10-12) is a point of dispute between Jefet b. 'Ali and Jacob b. Samuel.⁸⁴

לֹא יִהְיֶה כִּי אִם כָּפִי מִנֶּהֱגוּ הָרַבִּים בַּחֲשֹׁבֹן הַמֹּלֵד וְלֹא ע"פ הָרֵאיוּהָ.
Meshullam b. Kalonymos in his polemics against the Karaites (printed by Freimann, *Judaica: Festschrift Hermann Cohen*, 569 ff.) also uses this verse of Samuel to prove *עיבור החורש* (no. 1, p. 570). The Karaite Jeshua b. Juda likewise refutes this deduction (cp. Pozn., *Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadya*, 52).

⁸¹ Cp. Pinsker, *ל"ק*, נספחים, 16: ימים ר"ח: 16, נספחים, *ל"ק*, בפירק ה' הוא טוען על ב' ימים ר"ח: 16, נספחים, *ל"ק*, שבת"ל ושואל: מניין תמצאו לכם שנים ימים מזומנים למקצת ראשי השנים וכו'.

⁸² ממחרת החדש ולא הוא עצמו. החדש השני ר"ל יום השני של חדש כי לפי דעת ב"ה (= בעלי הקבלה) ב' ימים היה ר"ח יהיה מלת ממחרת יום שלישי. ויהיה רביעי להסתר דויד: ואם כפי דעתם ב' ימים באיזה יום היו מקריבין הקרבן.

⁸³ Pinsker, *ל"ק*, נספחים, 21-2: ימים ר"ח: 21-2, נספחים, *ל"ק*, אישר הזהיר הענתותי לדור פתלתול קרואים. השמרו בנפשותיכם ואל תשאו ביום שבת משאים. הן זאת חקוקה בלי דעה... דבר ולא תוציאו משא ולא פירש איזה מותר לעמסה. היש בזה ראיה לתפשה? זאת מן התורה היא ידועה.

⁸⁴ Pinsker, *l. c.*, 22: ולא הפריש בין דבר לדבר. *ל"ק*, דבר דבר בדברי. But Aaron b. Joseph to Isa. (*l. c.*, 39 a) comments, *ל"ק*. — To this prohibition in general, cp. Schechter's *Zadokite Fragment*

The Halaka that in the Jubilee year a present has to be returned to its donor is deduced from Ezek. 46. 17 (fol. 3, recto, ll. 12-16). The Mishnah (Bekor. 52^b) records it as a dispute between R. Meir and his contemporaries (ואלו שאין חוזרין ביוכל . . . והמתנה דברי ר"מ וחכ"א המתנה כמכר). But it is to be noted that the Biblical inference in Babli is from Lev. 25. 10, וחכ"א מתנה כמכר מאי טעמייהו דרבנן תשובו, (לרבות את המתנה). The author of our fragment prefers to adduce the explicit verse of Ezekiel.

Instructive is the next item (fol. 3, recto, ll. 16-19, verso, ll. 1-2). From Haggai 2. 12 we learn that if not the *בשר קדש* itself but a thing in contact with it touches any other object, it does not impart 'sanctity' to it (*הנוגע בנוגע בקדש*). Thus the verse of Haggai is explained according to its literal meaning. Well known, however, is the quite different explanation in Pes. 17 a. *בשר קדש* is taken to mean *בשר טמא*, which imparts 'defilement' to the cloth, and this is transmitted in succession to the articles of food mentioned in the verse (cp. the exposition of this Talmudic explanation in Maimonides, *Introd. to Mishnah Comment.* on *סדר טהרות*, towards end). We find Ibn Ezra to Haggai, *l.c.*, polemizing against this explanation of the verse and insisting on its natural meaning.⁸⁵ Also the Karaite Jacob b. Reuben gives this explanation.⁸⁶ But in our (H. part 10, ll. 27-8), *אל ידבר איש דבר נבל ורק*, and Yer. Sabb. 15 b, top ll. 3-5: *א"ר חייא בר בא ר"ש בן יוחי כד הוה חמי לאימיה משתעיא סגין הוה אמר לה אימא שובתא היא*.

הן *בשר קודש* כמשמעו קודש ממש והפך יקדש יטמא ואם יקדש יטמא למה ישנה כי זה הכתוב אחר זה? . . . והנה השאלה על *בשר קדש* שכתוב וכל אשר יגע בבשרה יקדש אם נגע הכלי הוא הכנף ששם הבשר הוא הקדש אל הלחם או לאחר הנזכרים היקדש? או ענו הכהנים ואמרו לא ונכונה דברו אחרי שלא נגע בכל אלה לבד הכנף ולא *בשר הקדש* ממש נגע בהם והוא הדין כי לא נגעו בבשר הקדש

⁸⁵ *בשר קודש* הוא *בשר*, ed. Firkowitz, Kozlov, 1835, 20 b: *ס' העשר*

fragment we see the Gaon taking Haggai 2. 12 in its natural meaning long before Ibn Ezra. This necessitates to explain Lev. 6. 20, to which Ibn Ezra refers, again in a way different from the Talmud, viz. that if *בשר קודש* has *immediate* contact with an object, it will 'sanctify' it. But the Talmudic deduction is that this takes place only when the object touches and also *absorbs* some substance from the *בשר קודש* (cp. Pes. 45 a, top, and parallels: *כל אשר יגע בבשרה יקדש וגו' יכול אפי' לא בלעה ת"ל בבשרה עד שיבלע בבשרה*).

From Ruth 4. 7 the Gaon infers that if a person makes a declaration (*יעיד על נפשו*), it is legally ratified by the symbolical exchange of a shoe or any other thing (fol. 3, verso, ll. 2-6). Evidently the inference is from the last clause of the verse *וואת התעורה בישראל* in the meaning of testimony, attestation. So also Ibn Ezra *a. l.* *וואת התעורה ממורת עדות* על זה היו מעידים ויש מפרש במלת תעורה רגילות ומנהג והראשון הוא התעורה הוא עדות, (14 a) *ס' העשר*, (הנכון) and Jacob b. Reuben, *בישראל*. The Gaon's inference essentially agrees with the Halaka. Thus, e.g., that the *קנין* is not restricted to 'shoes' only, but can consist of any other thing (*בנעלים או*) *תנא קונין בכלי אע"פ שאין בו שוה*, (בבלי), cp. B. m. 47 a, Kidd. 13 a, *פרוטא*. Yet the way in which the inference is defined shows independence from the Baraita in B. m. 47 a (*כתנאי וכו'*).

Ps. 51. 19 evidently refers to *גלות* (fol. 3, verso, ll. 6-10), because the next verse reads 'Do good in Thy favour unto Zion, build Thou the walls of Jerusalem'. It should be noted that the Agada does not agree with this explanation of the verses. Joshua b. Levi seems to take Ps. 51. 19 to

חטאת או אישם ' בכנף בגדו להראות פרק בין הבגד שיגע בחבור לבשר קודש ובין הדבר אשר לא יגע בחבור. Cp. also Hadassi, Eshkol, Alph. 282, end, 283, 284, beginning.

refer to Temple-times. When the Temple was *standing*, if a man brought a burnt-offering, he had only the reward of his sacrifice. But he of the contrite spirit is regarded as if he had offered all kinds of sacrifices, as Ps. 51. 19 shows (Sanh. 43 b, top; Soṭah 5 a). For other Agadic explanations of this verse, see Lev. r. c. 7; Pesikṭa 158 a.

Ingenious is the inference from Job 42. 15, that each of a man's daughters is entitled to a tenth part of his property (fol. 3, verso, ll. 10-14). The Halakah of עֵישׁוֹר נָכְסִים is well known (cp. especially the Baraita in Ket. 68 a, bottom, and Ned. 39 b, bottom). But its deduction from this verse of Job I could not trace in the Talmud.⁸⁷

In conclusion it should be noted that Job 15. 18 is explained in an early Agada quite different from the meaning the author of our fragment gives to it in fol. 4, recto, ll. 3-5 (cp. the Baraita in Soṭah 7 b).

Who the writer of our fragment was is impossible to gather from the part that has been preserved. We only know that he lived in Bagdad and was regarded as an authority by the people (fol. 4, recto, ll. 5-12). He evidently tried to defend the tradition against the attacks of the Ḳaraites, and in doing so he endeavoured to take to his aid the verses of the Prophets and the Hagiographa. In order to forestall the retorts of his opponents, he gave the verses their natural meaning and avoided the Talmudic method of deduction. The nearest thought is to identify the writer of this letter with Hai b. David, who was Dayan at Bagdad prior to his assuming the Gaonate of Pumbedita. According to Kīrkīsani, Hai and his father David trans-

⁸⁷ Cp. also Rashi to Job, v. l.: מחור חשיבותו ויפין נתן להם נחלה עם : האחים. — For the Ḳaraite view about a daughter's share in the inheritance, see Pozn., JQR., VIII, 692, note 3.

lated 'Anan's *Book of Precepts* from Aramaic into Hebrew, and examined its sources (cp. Harkavy, Hebrew Graetz, III, 503). Probably this Hai אלמתיבה ראם is referred to by Jefet b. 'Ali and Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ as the author of a book against the Karaites (cp. Pinsker, ל"ק, נספחים, 148-51 and 183). But as the writer of the letter requests his correspondent to send to Bagdad questions as well as donations, it seems that he was the head of an academy there. It is therefore more probable that he belongs to a later period, when the Pumbedita Gaon had his residence at Bagdad.

A

(recto)

מ[ורים] ל[שם] קרשו על פרותה ככת הרננה שפתי כי אומרה לך ונפשו אשר פרוה⁸⁸
ומוריעים כי אתם אחינו מחמדי עוינו ומשוש לבנו וידידי רוחנו שוכחים
אותנו אנחנו לא שכחנוכם כי כרוח חיינו אתם נחשבים לנו ואין ישבה איש את ר[ח]
חיינו ומשאותיכם אשר שמענו ונדעם ואבותינו ספרו לנו⁸⁹ כי חק לחמכם מאתכם היה
5 ואין ישבה איש את טרף חקו וכי שקי מימינו מעדיכם הוא מושך ואין ינשה אנוש
שקי חיינו על כן אם הרבה שנים עברו והרבה ימי[ם] ה[לב]ו ולא פקדתם אותנו באגרו[תיכם]
ושאלותיכם ונדרים ונדבותיכם כמנהג אבותיכם זכר צדיקים לברכה נח פנינו אתם
כחותם על לבנו⁹⁰ הנכם חקוקים עם רחשון צהמיון⁹¹ כחותם על זרועינו אתם חרוש[ים]⁹²
ואף על פי שאין תמיד נראה הנו מקום מצוה חשובה⁹³ והן על כפיה חקנוכם⁹⁴ אש[ר]
10 יראון על כן עם תנודיהם יראו לנו מרחוק כבוק באפל כצל סלע בציה⁹⁵ ואכן נאמר
י[י] היודע ועד באלה אם נשכח אתכם תשכח גבורתנו [ואם נחדל] מוכר הוריקם
רוב ע[ת]ים תשח לשונינו ועל ראש כל משוש[נו] אתם תעלון כאשר נבא המ[שורר]
לאמר אם אישכחך ירושלם תשכח ימיני תדבק [לשוני לח] כי אם לא איכרכי אם לא

⁸⁸ Ps. 71. 23.⁸⁹ Ps. 78. 3.⁹⁰ Cp. Cant. 8. 6.

⁹¹ צהמיון gives no meaning; read והמיון, and רחשון, being synonyms for prayer; cp. Ps. 55. 3; 77. 4, and see Zunz, *Literaturgesch. d. synag. Poesie*, 398 and 402, s. v.

⁹² Cp. Jer. 17. 1.⁹³ Referring to the phylactery on the arm.⁹⁴ Cp. Isa. 49. 16.⁹⁵ Cp. Isa. 32. 2.

אעלה את ירושלם על ראש שמחתי⁹⁶ וברוב ישרע[פ]נו בקרבנו אמרנו על מה זה שכחתם
 אותנו ישבו זקנינו שוממין בהורינו נאנחים תנאינו נונים ואנו מר לנו כי נראה [כל]¹⁵
 העולם הולך וחרב כי אם במאמר קדושינו כי על בריתו אשר היא תורתו הוא עומד
 ככת כה אמר יי אִם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חקות שמים וארץ לא שִׁמְתִי⁹⁷ ונמצאת הים[יד]
 והסוד גם העולם אשר עליה עמדו הולך ואבוד ככת לא יד[ע]ו ולא יבינו בה־שִׁכָּה יתהלכו
 ימוֹתוֹ כל מוסדי ארץ⁹⁸ ומה בצע כי תכבשו דרך לחרבן עולם אם אמ[רתם לנו]
 כי חסרנו ונתמעטת חכמתינו אמנם כי כן הוא הנה הועם הודנו וחסר מדענו ומדרישינו²⁰
 שממו ונותרנו מעט מהרבה ומדרש התנאים כמו שומים כי כל נער מאור עינים
 היה מובל למדרש המשנה ועתה אין איש מביא בנו ותחבולות נעשה להביא אחד
 אחר אחד כדי שלא תשתכח המשנה וגם אמורי התלמוד רבים בבניהם יוצאים למלאכות
 אחרות ומסתפחים להשתכר או לעבוד ומדור אל דור אנו חסרים ומשנה אל שנה
 א[נו] נמעטים וגר[ם] כל זאת עצלות ישראל אשר מנעו[ם] את חקם ואת מוונות[יהם]²⁵
 כי מי זה יקום בלא מזון הלא בתת אלה[י]נו את תורתו לעמו ויצום ללמ[ד]ם כלם ספק צרכיהם
 במן יורד כל יום למען לא ימצאו עליה לבלתי לבת בה ככת הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן
 השמים ויצא העם ולקטו וג'⁹⁹ [וב]הביא[ו] אותם אל אדמתם ויצו את הכהנים והלויים
 ללמד וללמד כי ידע כי אינם כלם יכולים להפרד בלימוד דת צוה גם את העם לעמוד
 בצרכיהם ככת ויאמר לעם ליושבי ירושלם לתת מנת הכהנים והלויים למען ידבקו³⁰
 בתורת יי¹⁰⁰ ואם יתעצלו העם מה יעשון חכמיהם היוכלון לרעוב ולצמא כי הננו
 נשארנו עכשו מתעשתים וטרחים עד אשר נשבע לחם אנו וטפינו ונ[ש]ביע את
 היתר הנותר ואת טפם לחם וכמו עלינו נאמר כי תהיו כאלה נבלת עליה וכננה אשר
 פים אין לה כי¹⁰¹ נבלו עלינו ואולו מימינו יען כי בהמשל חכמי דת כאשכנז¹⁰² גם עשירי עם
 35 [אומה זו כנפך נמשלה וזמורות שבה אלו בעלי בתים אשכולות שבה אלו תלמידי חכמים]

⁹⁶ Ps. 137. 5-6.⁹⁷ Jer. 33. 25.⁹⁸ Ps. 82. 5.⁹⁹ Exod. 16. 4.¹⁰⁰ 2 Chron. 31. 4.¹⁰¹ Isa. 1. 30.¹⁰² Cp. Soṭah 47 a, b; Temurah 17 b.¹⁰³ Hulin 92 a.

B

(fol. 3, recto)

ויהי ממחרת החדש השני ויפקד
מָקוֹם וּג' ¹⁰⁴ ובספר מלכי' פירש
כי המתפלל בנולה ישים את פניו
נכח אר[י] צבי ¹⁰⁵ ככת' והתפללו דרך
5 ארצם אשר נתנה לאבותם והעיר
אשר בחרת והבית אשר בניתי לשמך ¹⁰⁶
ובספר ירמיה פירש כי אסור
להוציא משא בשבת מן רשות הַיְחִיד
לרשות הרבים ככת' ולא תוציאו משא
10 מבתיכם ביום השבת ¹⁰⁷ ובספר ישעיהו
פירש כי אסור להרבות דברי חול בשבת
ככת' מִמְּצוֹא חִפְצֶךָ וְדָבָר דָּבָר ¹⁰⁸ ובספר
יחזקאל פירש כי אף המתנה תשוב
בשנת היובל בַּמִּמְכָּר ככת' וכי יתן מתנה
15 מנחלתו לאחר מועבריו והיתה לו עד
שנת הדרור ושבת לנשיא ¹⁰⁹ ובספר
תרי עשר פירש כי הַנּוֹגֵעַ בַּנּוֹגֵעַ
בקדש לא יקדש ככת' הן ישא איש
בשר קודש בכנף בנרו ונגע בכנפו

¹⁰⁴ 1 Sam. 20. 27.

¹⁰⁵ Cp. Tos. Ber. 316, Babli 30a, and Yer. 8 b bottom. Dan. 6. 11 is also used for this inference in Ber. 31 a (cp. Yer. c. 4, beginning). See also על בן צריכה כל כנסיה לעשות חלונות מכוונות כנגד, 69^a, bottom, הן ערן המקדש ולא נמצא בכל ישראל חולק על זה וזלתי מה שהועד בשביל משוי העכברי שבכל מקום שהיה מתפלל הקבלתו כנגד המערב ואפי' אם הוא במערב ארץ ישראל.

¹⁰⁶ 1 Kings 8. 48.¹⁰⁷ Jer. 17. 2.¹⁰⁸ Isa. 58. 13.¹⁰⁹ Ezek. 46. 17.

(fol. 3, verso)

אל הלחם ואל הנזיר ואל היין ואל שמן ואל
 כל מאכל היקדש¹¹⁰ ובספר רות פירש
 כי כל אשר יעיד על נפשו קונים מידו
 בנעלים או בכלי ככת' וזאת לפנים
 5 בישר' על הנאולה ועל התמורה לקיים
 כל דבר שלף איש נעלו¹¹¹ וג' ובספר
 תהילים פירש כי שְׁבִירַת הַלֵּב
 בְּנִלְוָה כהקרב זבחים ככת' וְיִבְחִי
 אלהים רוח נשברה לֵב נשבר ונדכה
 10 אלהים לֹא תבזה: ¹¹² ובספר איוב פירש
 כי הבנות נוטלות כל אחת עישור
 נִיֶּסֶי אָבִיהָ כי השוה בין בניו
 ובנותיו בהיות כולן עשרה ויתן להן
 אביהן נחלה בתוך אחיהם¹¹³ ובספר
 15 עֲזָרָא פירש כי חייבים לקרוא בספר
 תורה ברבים בכל יום קודש: ככת' ויקרא
 בספר תורת האלהים יום ביום מן היום
 הראשון ועד היום האחרון: ¹¹⁴ ולמה נכתבו

(fol. 4, recto)

כל אלה כי [י]ש מצות הַבִּים¹¹⁵ נתונות
 בקבלה ולא בכתב ואלה מקצתם
 ולחכמים ניתנו להנידם ולפרשם ככת'
 אשר חכמים יגידו ולא כיחדו מאבותם
 5 להם לבדם נתנה הארץ¹¹⁶ וגו' ועתה

¹¹⁰ Haggai 2. 12.¹¹¹ Ruth 4. 7.¹¹² Ps. 51. 19.¹¹³ Job 42. 15.¹¹⁴ Neh. 8. 18.¹¹⁵ Read רבות.¹¹⁶ Job 15. 18.

י[ק]יר[י]נו הלא ידעת אם לא שמעת כי
 אנחנו יושבים בבִּדְרָאד מְלָמְדִים
 את העם תמיד אסור והתר טָמֵא
 וטהור פֶּשֶׁר ופסול ושאר כל דקדוקי
 10 תורה ומצות כי איש אשר יבקש דת
 אל שערינו יבוא וגם מחפִּלִּים בעדם
 ומברכים בכל עת כאשר אמר שמואל
 וגם אנכי חלילה לִי מחטא לִיּוֹי' מחדל
 להתפלל בעדכם והוריתי אתכם בדרך
 15 הטובה והישרה ¹¹⁷ ורצוננו כי תעשה
 ותשאל שאלות מן המקרא ומן המשנה
 ומן התלמוד ואז תבין בה ¹¹⁸ את התורה
 ולשם תשלח את נרבותיך למען
 תתסדר הישרה ויתיצב העולם
 20 על ידיך ויתקבלו בעריך ברכותינו

(fol. 4, verso)

ותפילותינו נצח סלה :

6. *Nahum* אלחון אלברדאני [to *Geon.*, II, pp. 58 and 69].

The long index of responsa printed in *Geon.*, II, contains twice the above name, which was till now entirely unknown. On p. 58 the item reads נחום מרב כתב מן מרב אלחון אלברדאני ¹¹⁹ [נֶעֱ]. Further, in a list of questions from Judah b. Joseph (of Kairawan, cp. about this scholar, Poznański, *ראינא מרב נחום אלחון אלברדאני* no. 22) we read *אנשי קירואן* קטע עלי. It therefore seems that this חון, a native of Bagdad (Bardan being a suburb of this city), was for a time in

¹¹⁷ 1 Sam. 12, 23.

¹¹⁸ בהן, referring to שאלות, would be more suitable.

¹¹⁹ Thus very likely is the lacuna to be completed.

Ḳairowan. The following fragment, T.-S. 10 J. 4³, will help to elucidate this point, and will also furnish interesting information about the connexions between the Jewries of different countries.

Our Naḥum travelled from Bagdad as far as the Magreb (probably Ḳairowan).¹²⁰ There he bought antimony powder, valuable as an eye salve, and Hebrew books, among them a set of Talmud. These he sent to Egypt, where his representative, Hillel b. Isaac, was to sell the powder, but to take the books to Jerusalem. Afterwards Naḥum made over to his son Jannai the amount his representative owed him. Now both Naḥum and Jannai are dead, and the latter's heirs, Joseph and Naḥum, claim from Hillel b. Isaac, who lives in Ramlah, the amount due to their father. Their representative (in Palestine) is Mašliah b. Elijah, the Sicilian. The last fact tends to show that the plaintiffs still lived in Babylon, probably Bagdad, and that our fragment is a part of a document drawn up at the Supreme Court of the academy at Bagdad. It has been sent to Egypt for the purpose of taking further proceedings against Hillel b. Isaac, who refused to repay the sum he was owing to Naḥum and his heirs.

Interesting is the mention of copies of the Talmud being sent from Kairowan to Egypt and Palestine. Above (VIII, 354) a copy of Berakot from Ḳairowan, containing

¹²⁰ This Naḥum is perhaps identical with Naḥum b. Joseph, who writes an Arabic letter, dated 22nd Ab, 310 Sel = 998, from Ḳairowan to his master Samuel b. Ḥofni (published by Goldziher, *REJ.*, L, 182-8). Leaving his family in 'Irāk, Naḥum b. Joseph travelled as far as Andalusia, and also stayed in Mahdiya. He mentions a letter sent by Samuel b. Ḥofni to יהודה בן יוסף (ll. 14-15), who is probably the Ḳairowan scholar Jehuda b. Joseph, in whose list of questions there is the above reference to Naḥum אלברדאני אלהון.

a difficult reading, which Shemariah b. Elḥanan used, was mentioned. In earlier times, however, we know of copies of the Talmud being sent from the East to the West. Thus Paltoi Gaon sent to Spain a Talmud with a commentary (*ŒQR.*, XVIII, 401, bottom). Also Hasdai ibn Shaprut bought copies of the Talmud from Sura (cp. Marx, *ibid.*, 768).

(recto)

מעשה ש[היה] לפנינו אנו בית הגדול¹²¹ כי בא לפנינו אל שער הישיבה
 ר' יוס[ף] ו[ר'] נחום בני ר' ינאי ביר' נחום אלברדאני
 החזן קובלים ואומרים כי הזקן רבנא נחום החזן [אל] ברדאני שיגר מן המערב
 סח[ור]ה [יפת] הנודע כחל¹²² עם ספרים
 חלמוד וזולתן אל מדינת מצרים שוב מינה [את] ר' הילל בן יצחק לקבל
 הכל ולמכור הסחורה ולעלות בספרים
 לירושלם ובא וקיבל הכל ומכר אל כחל וקיבל דמיו ועלה בספרים לירושלם
 ואח[ר] [ר'] כן נתן רבנא נחום הזקן אל
 ; ברדאני אבי אבינו לבנו ר' ינאי אבינו הסחורה אל כחל והספרים מתנה
 גמורה באגב וקני¹²³ ועכשו כבר מת
 הזקן רבנא נחום החזן ור' ינאי אבינו ואמנו ואחיותינו ולא נשאר לאבינו רבי
 ינאי יורש זולתינו אנו יוסף
 ונחום וכבר מנינו מכמה זמ[ן] את ר' מצליח ביר' אליה סקלי על ר' הילל בר
 יצחק כדי לקבל ממנו דמי
 הסחורה והספרים ובא ר' מצליח אל מדינת רמלה והזמין את ר' הילל בר
 יצחק לדון וטען ר' הילל זה כי היה
 לו חוב[על] רבנא נחום] הזקן אבי אבינו וכי [נפ]רע מדמי הסחורה אל כחל
 ונשאר לו על הספרים
 שיקבל ר' הילל זה 10

¹²¹ בית ביד is left out; perhaps read ביד for בית.

¹²² כחל, antimony-powder; eye-salve.

וקנין = ¹²³.

7. *A Panegyric in honour of a Babylonian Dignitary.*

Or. 5554, B, folio 20, parchment, square writing, size, 19 × 14 cm., forms a part of a poem in honour of a great celebrity. The fragment contains twenty-one strophes, which give the acrostic . סגלה ועוז הגולה יהי לערי ע. It is evident that the poem is incomplete. At least two strophes at the beginning, commencing with the letters נ and ז respectively, and one strophe at the end, with ד as its first letter, are missing in order to complete the acrostic [נ] . . . סגלה . . . לערי ע[ד].

The poem has for its hero the same person to whom are devoted the remarkable poems published by Schechter in *Saadyana* (XXV, pp. 67-74 = *JQR.*, XIV, 231-42) from a Cambridge manuscript. Acrostic and style are similar, while the same names occur in both fragments.¹²⁴ There is little doubt that the panegyric is in honour of a prominent leader of the Babylonian Jewry. This is clear from the reference to the academy of Sura (מחסיה, S. 66, l. 8 ff.) to which he imparted new life, and from the fact that he is eulogized as 'the strength of the dispersion in Babylon and Edom' (S. 73, l. 26), whose 'authority is in Shin'ar and his awe reaches 'Ar, and his repute goes through all countries' (S. 72, ll. 15-16). This has been rightly pointed out by Schechter (p. 63). The full acrostic in S., אברהם רבנו נזר, סגלה ועוז הגולה וכו', proves that his name was Abraham. This at once disposes of the tentative identifications of the hero of the poems with Saadya or Samuel b. Ḥofni, as Schechter, *l.c.*, and Ginzberg (*ZfHB.*, XIV, 85-6) suggest. Surely the supposed author of the poems, Abraham Hakkohen

¹²⁴ For brevity's sake the British Museum and the Cambridge fragments are cited as Or. and S. respectively, the latter according to the pages in *Saadyana*.

(according to Schechter, 64, n. 8), would not style himself 'אברהם רבנו וכו'.

Marmorstein (*JQR.*, N. S., VI, 157) printed a few lines from Or. and rightly pointed out its resemblance to the poems in *Saadyana*. But his identification of the subject of the poems with Abraham b. Sahlān in Egypt, a correspondent of Solomon b. Judah, the Jerusalem Gaon, is again entirely unwarranted. Apart from the fact of Abraham b. Sahlān living in Egypt and not in Babylon, he was not of such prominent a standing as to be the subject of such a panegyric. As will be shown elsewhere, Abraham b. Sahlān was the **חבר** of the Babylonian community in Fustāt, and held a position similar to that of Ephraim b. Shemariah of the Palestinian community. One of Abraham's two sons was Sahlān, styled **ראש כלה, אלוף**, and also **ראש הסדר**. But the subject of the above poems had four sons, one of whom was called Sahl. Surely a Sahl b. Abraham does not at once justify the identification with a Sahlān b. Abraham.

Leaving the question of identification in abeyance, we gather from the poems several details about the entourage of their hero. Schechter (p. 64) assumed that he had three sons called Baruch, Jannai, and Solomon (S. 66, l. 2). But it is clear that **אבי ברוך וינאי ושלמה** was none else but **נחום** mentioned in line 1 (cp. also Pozn., *ZfHB.*, VII, 172). But both Schechter and Poznański found line 1 obscure. It reads **הנה ישראל¹²⁵ בביתו נאנדים ורצפי ינאי בפי נחום המורים**. The evident meaning is that the subject of the poems has

¹²⁵ How Ginzberg (*ZfHB.*, XIV, 85, n. 5) could find in this line an allusion to Israel, the son of Sam. b. Hofni, is inexplicable to me. Nor can I detect the 'direct reference to Samuel b. Hofni' in S. 67, l. 11, **לסוכך** (! בארך הכהן אמרם בעלך הכהן עמרם).

a synagogue of his own where Jews assemble for prayer. The reader, Naḥum (the father of Baruch, Jannai, and Solomon), recites the liturgical compositions (רצפי ינאי being a poetical metaphor for חזנות ינאי) in a pleasant way. This allusion to חזנות ינאי is borne out by S. 73, l. 24: וני זמרו בתורת אל ולא זר נינת ביתנו ינאי ואלעזר (i. e. Jannai and Eleazar Kalir). Perhaps the suggestion may be ventured that the reader Naḥum is the same Naḥum אלחון אלברדאני mentioned above. He makes over to his son Jannai the value of the antimony-powder and the books as a present. Bodl. 2838 I 12 and 2709 G, a, 37 contain liturgical compositions with the acrostic נחום.¹²⁶ Possibly they emanate from this Bagdad reader. Bodl. 2821, 5 b also contains a composition שלום חבושר נשיאנו בעד אהלך (evidently in honour of a Nasi) with the acrostic שלמה בן נחום חון חוק. This liturgical writer may be the second of Naḥum's three sons. Finally, Bodl. 2712, 21 c; 2730, 6 g; 2847, 20 e, f; 2705³, and 2848, 9 d contain several liturgical compositions with acrostics יוסף אלברדאני, יושף אלברד (p), ברדאני, אלברדאני, ברדאני, אלברדאני, יושף חון, יושף. Perhaps the author is the grandson of Naḥum אלברדאני אלחון mentioned in the document printed above (under 6).

To return to the subject of the poems. In S. he is alluded to as the father of three sons (68, l. 22) and two daughters (66, l. 23; cp. l. 25 f.). The author wishes his hero another son (67, l. 19). In Or. already four sons are mentioned (verso, ll. 11-12). It is therefore evident that Or. was written at a later period. Altogether the poems were probably composed on various occasions when the author found it appropriate to eulogize his patron. Or.

¹²⁶ Zunz, *Litgesch. d. synag. Poesie*, 492, states only 'mutmasslich' that Naḥum came from the south of Spain or Fez not later than 1300 c. E.

seems to have been written after an illness of the celebrated person (recto, ll. 4-5).

There are further mentioned both in S. and Or. an unnamed brother of the subject of the poems, his sister's two sons, one by the name of Ḥasan, and also a son of his uncle ('his mother's brother'), 'Ali Hakkohen. Finally, Abraham ha-Cohen, his secretary, and perhaps the author of the poems, Israel Hakkohen and 'Amram Hakkohen, conclude the number of persons mentioned in the poems. These will be referred to in the foot-notes to the text.

In spite of the several persons mentioned in the poems, it is still difficult to ascertain who the person thus eulogized was. If the identification of Naḥum אֶלְחֹן אֶלְכֶרְדָּאִי is correct, it would give a clue that may lead to a solution. The general impression from the poems (especially from Or.) is that the celebrated person as well as his brother were more political than scholastic celebrities, probably Jewish grandees at Bagdad. Neṭira's sons are out of question, as their names are known to have been Sahl and Isaac, and the former, the more prominent, had only one child called Neṭira (cp. Harkavy, *Berliner Festschrift*, part H, pp. 34-43). But next to Neṭira's sons, there were also the influential 'sons of Aaron'. As was shown above, their father was Aaron b. Abraham b. Aaron. Now just as the name Aaron recurs in the family, one of these בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן very likely was called Abraham.¹²⁷ This 'son of Aaron' may perhaps have been the subject of this panegyric. He was the patron of the Pumbedita academy, and for all we know

¹²⁷ It should be pointed out here that בֶּשֶׁר בֶּן אַהֲרֹן, the father-in-law of Aaron b. Sargado, who arranged the peace between Saadya and David b. Zaccai (cp. Neub. II, 82), is evidently an older contemporary. Our Aaron was still alive in 953.

he might have used his influence in restoring the Sura academy. The lines 28–30 of Or., recto, would aptly describe all he stood for as regards the welfare of the academy. It is interesting to note that Neṭira's son Sahl had a synagogue of his own where services were held every Sabbath. The equally influential 'son of Aaron' might also have been the owner of a synagogue where the services were conducted by Naḥum אלברדאני. With our very scanty knowledge of the internal affairs of the Bagdad community during the life-time of the Geonim Nehemiah, Sherira, and Hai, the above identification can only claim the rights of a suggestion. But it seemed to me more in accordance with probability than all the identifications suggested hitherto.

(recto)

רחץ רבנו בדם צר פעמיך לקשחה¹²⁸ וטבול יריך בשמן
ישע למשחה ונפשך הקדושה אל תהי שחה יִשְׁוּחוּ
משנאיה ימוטו עריה:

סור הקיר בנדי חלי ומכאוב ולבש מחלצת הרפואה
כתִּתָּאוב¹²⁹ שא נא בידך כוס ישועה לשאוב 5
ואויבך ימוצו כוס חֶמֶה אך שמריה:¹³⁰

נבירים ואדנים קדושנו יאגיד להשתחוות לפניך
ואליך ינגיד לך יראו יקמו כל גיבור ונגיד
נדיבי הארץ מלכיה ושריה:¹³¹

לא יוריד אינו¹³² נֶסֶךְ הנרגל ולפניו ההמון כל רוכב ומתֹורגל¹³³ 10
מדי צאת השמש על כל דרך ומעגל
ועלות השחר עלי ארץ והריה:

¹²⁸ Cp. Job 39. 16; S. 73, l. 25, קשחן, see Zunz, *Synag. Poesie*, 403.

¹²⁹ Evidently the subject of the poem was just recovering from an illness.

¹³⁰ See Ps. 75. 9.

¹³¹ Evidently the hero was a great political force, probably at the Caliph's court at Bagdad.

¹³² = אלהינו.

¹³³ From תרגלתי, Hos. 11. 3.

הוֹרֵךְ לֹא יִמְעַט יִקְרַךְ לֹא יִסּוּף. וְאוֹרֵךְ לֹא יִרְעַךְ וּבֹל יִהי

אִסּוּף. כֹּל לֶכֶת הַנַּחֲלִים בְּנוֹחַם אֶל יָם סוּף.

וּמִשְׁךְ נִהְרִי חֶלֶד וְהָקִיר בְּאַרְיָה: 15

וּבֹל יָמֵי צֶאֱת חֹטָה אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁבּוּלֶת חֲבוּאָה. וְצִימוֹחַ

הַמִּנְחָה הַגֵּרֶשׁ וְהַחֲבוּאָה. וְיָמֵי עֶמֶד הַתּוֹרָה

הַנִּכְתָּב בְּנִבְוָאָה. וּמִצּוֹת סְדֵרֶיהָ וּמִשְׁפָּטֵי סִפְרֶיהָ:

עֲלֵיךְ הַנּוֹר הַמְהוֹר מִצִּיִּן. וְנִגְהַךְ יִהי בּוֹלֵט בְּפִתּוֹחַ צִיִּן. 134

וְעִיר וְקָדִישׁ 135 מִשְׁמִים מִצִּיִּן. לְהַשִּׁיאךְ 20

יִשְׁוּעָתָה מִמַּעוֹן חֲדָרֶיהָ:

זֶה קְרוּשׁ יֵאֵמֶר מֶה לָךְ עוֹד מוֹחֶם. 136 כְּמוֹ גִּבּוֹר נִבְחַל כְּמוֹ

אִישׁ נִדְהָם. 137 הֲלֹא שְׂדֵי קְרוּשָׁךְ וְאֵת עֲבָדָיו אֲבָרָהֶם 138

קָרָא בְּשִׁמְךָ עַז עֲרֵתוֹ וְנוֹתְרִיהָ:

הַמַּעַט מִמֶּךָ כְּבוֹד הַדֶּרֶךְ [ת] הִלַּקְתָּ. אֲשֶׁר רִיחֶךְ [ב] כֹּו טוֹב 25

מִיַּין הַרְקַח. 139 וְכִי מְרוֹקִים דְּוִיד עַל רִצִּין וּפִקָּה. 140

שְׁמֶךָ שֶׁר נִחַלְתָּ וְסִגַּלְתָּ בַּחֲרִיָּה:

נִוֹרֵךְ בְּרִצּוֹתֶיהָ יוֹעִין [מ] רִיבּוֹתֶיהָ. דּוֹרֵשׁ שְׁלֹמוֹתֶיהָ וְדוֹרֵשׁ

טוֹבוֹתֶיהָ. יוֹפִי מוֹשְׁבּוֹתֶיהָ. וְהוּד יִשִּׁיבּוֹתֶיהָ. אֵב לְסִלְרִיָּה 141

וְגַם רֵב לְסִנְהֶדְרִיהָ: 30

¹³⁴ Cp. Exod. 28. 36.

¹³⁵ Dan. 4. 10, 20.

¹³⁶ Participle Hophal of הָמַם.

¹³⁷ Jer. 14. 9.

¹³⁸ Ps. 105. 6, 42. Possibly the author, presumably Abraham Hakkohen, alludes that he is the namesake of his hero.

¹³⁹ Cant. 8. 2.

¹⁴⁰ See Isa. c. 7. Is here a possible allusion to the hero's descentance from the Davidic family?

¹⁴¹ The best explanation of this much-discussed word (Pozn., אֲנִשִּׁי קִירוּאֵן, p. 47; Davidson, *JQR.*, N. S., I, 235, note 50; Chajes, *ZfHB.*, XIV (1910), 25; and Ginzberg, *ibid.*, 87-8) is that by Bacher (*ibid.*, 82-3) as being a Persian loan-word, سلا, 'a very usual designation in the meaning of "dux agminis, princeps populi"'.¹

(verso)

ויצא לך שם בכל ממלכת מועשת¹⁴² ולשמע קדושתך מכסאה
 רועשת¹⁴³ וייטב לך זכר מבושם כל עשת
 קציעיה וקנמוניה וגם מר דרוריה:

לכן לא תירא אם תחנה מחנה¹⁴² מזה בן מזה מנה בן מנה¹⁴³
 כי הוכן לך בית נאמן ויפנה¹⁴⁴ בוכות הרחבה—
 אשר אחותה מכל מצריה:

היקר
 היא הונך מכל פז וחרוין¹⁴⁵ היא תנן בערך מכל חין עריין¹⁴⁶
 היא לך למגדל עז ולמשגב כי תרוין¹⁴⁴ למלט נפשך מכל צוריה
 יחן לך יי כל אשר תתאוה¹⁴⁷ ותשאל ותדרוש ותיחל ותקווה
 ועצמותיך יחלין והיית כנן רוח¹⁴⁵ ונחך תמיד בעצתו ומישריה:¹⁴⁵
 חסון ישיחך נצור מלרקוב¹⁴⁶ ונטעי גנתך יצחק ויעקב¹⁴⁷

וגם סהל ויוסף¹⁴⁶ יישר לכו עקוב¹⁴⁷ ואחיותיהם ואמם המהללת בדוריה:¹⁴⁷
 ישמח לבבה סרעפיה תנאניה¹⁴⁸ בכבודך וכבודם אשר עיניה
 תראינה¹⁴⁹ נדריה תשלם ויריה תביאנה¹⁴⁹ ותיטב ליי משאת שיריה:
 לבש מדי ישע ומעיל שעשועים¹⁴⁸ היה אתה ואחייך גדולנו¹⁴⁸
 הנעים¹⁴⁹ פרו ורבו והתניבו והשרישו נטעים¹⁴⁹

העטיפו משפת חכם גזעיה ונצריה:
 עדן הטוב אשר לצדיקים צפון¹⁵⁰ בכף נכבדנו חסן בן אחותך
 יהי חפון¹⁵¹ ובאוצר אחיו הארוש ספון¹⁵²
 ותגל יולדתם בניניה וגוריה:¹⁵³

דגל הברכה יקום בהתרוממך¹⁵⁴ לבן עלי הכהן בן אחי אמך¹⁴⁹

¹⁴² Cp. Ps. 27. 3.

¹⁴³ Cp. Yer. Ber. IV, 7, and Babli Taan. 21 b. This shows that the hero's father was also a prominent man.

¹⁴⁴ Read perhaps בו תרוין, cp. Prov. 18. 10.

¹⁴⁵ Cp. Isa. 58. 11.

¹⁴⁶ These are the names of his four sons.

¹⁴⁷ Cp. S. 66, l. 23 ff.

¹⁴⁸ Referred to in S. 67, l. 1 ff., 69, l. 24, and 71, l. 7.

¹⁴⁹ Cp. S. 67, l. 4, and 69, l. 25.

יאמצהו אלהינו בהנשא שמך • ויושיע נפשו מפחדה

וממגוריה :

ישראל הכהן יברכו חי וקיים • ואברהם הכהן משרתך ¹⁵⁰ יאויים •

טובתם תהא שפעת כמו שפע הים • 25

ולבן דורו עמרם הכהנים מבחריה : ¹⁵¹

עתרת שלום ואמת מוכנים • לבני האחיות ברחש והחתנים • ¹⁵²

ודברי הברכות יהיון נאמנים •

לכל בני המשפחה גדוליה וצעירה :

II

Elḥananan b. Hushiel of Kairowan.

This scholar was entirely unknown till 1899, when Schechter published from the Genizah a letter by Hushiel to Shemariah b. Elḥanan, which aroused much interest (*FQR.*, XI, 643-50). The preamble of the letter contains the acrostic **אלחנן ברבי חושאל**, showing that he collaborated in the composition of this alphabetic eulogy of Shemariah. Hushiel styles his son **אלחנן ר'** (ll. 56 and 62), again indicating that he was already of the age and status of a scholar. But more could not be gathered from the epistle. What position Elḥanan held in Kairowan after his father remained completely obscure.

His name turns up again in a document of 1034 (*FQR.*, XVI, 576) as **אלחנן ברבי חושי אלחנניה בר ברכיה** which, as Pozn., *אנשי קירואן*, no. 10, has rightly pointed out, must read **אלחנן ברבי חושאל חנניה בר ברכיה**. This document could have already supplied information as to Elḥanan's status at Kairowan, had it not been entirely misunder-

¹⁵⁰ Cp. S. 67, l. 6.

¹⁵¹ Cp. S. 67, l. 11.

¹⁵² Cp. S. 67, . 3, and 69, l. 24.

stood. It has not been drawn up in Ḳairowan, but in Fustāt (מצר). This is clear from the signatures Sahalon b. Abraham and Saadya b. Ephraim. As indicated above (p. 154), and as will be shown elsewhere, Sahlān b. Abraham was the spiritual leader of the Babylonian community at Fustāt, a position his father held before him. Saadya b. Ephraim was Sahlān's uncle. Both bore the title Alluf; the latter was also called ריש כלה. They thus sign the document, probably not as witnesses, but as the judges of the Bēt-Din of the Babylonians at Fustāt.¹⁵³ Now this document of 1034 includes a deed drawn up at the Bēt-Din of Ḳairowan two years previously (1032), and signed by חנניה בר ברכיה, אלהנן ברבי חושיאל, and Abraham b. Daniel (for דויאל, cp. Pozn., *l. c.*, no. 3), again not as actual witnesses, but very likely as the judges of this court. Hence Elḥanan b. Ḥushiel is head of the court, ראש ב"ד.

The two Genizah fragments printed here, more than fifteen years after Schechter's publication, will throw new light on Elḥanan b. Ḥushiel's position in Ḳairowan. Fragment A (T.-S. 12. 194, 26 × 18 cm., paper, small Rabbinic square writing, doubled into four columns, of which three are occupied by the letter) is a responsum by our scholar. As question and answer are in the same handwriting, it is clearly not the original but a copy. Elḥanan is addressed as הרב הגדול ראש בית דין [ראש] בי רבנן. The last title was also borne by his father Ḥushiel.¹⁵⁴ When this responsum was written Ḥushiel was no longer alive, as is evident from

¹⁵³ Thus nos. 40 and 41 should be removed from the list of Poznański's אנשי קירואן.

¹⁵⁴ R. Nissim in ספר המפתח (ed. Goldenthal, 13a): וזה המעשה בקבלה: הוא אצלי מרבי אדוננו הרב הקדוש רבינו חושיאל ראש בי רבנן ז"ל ולתחיה.

the signature. The case dealt with in the question did not demand the display of great Talmudic erudition.¹⁵⁵ But as the hitherto only known evidence of Elḥanan's learning, the responsum well merits publication. The Rabbi shortly recapitulates the case under discussion before giving his decision. The pious conclusion, 'May the Rock in His mercy make me one of those who possess the insight¹⁵⁶ to give a true decision and a righteous judgement', reveals a modest and sympathetic trait of Elḥanan's character.

Of more historic interest is fragment B, T.-S. 24. 6, vellum, square writing, forming a long letter from the 'community of Sicily', its 'Bēt-Din and elders', to the congregations of Ḳairowan and the neighbouring Mahdiya. By Sicily, probably Palermo, the leading congregation of the isle, is meant.¹⁵⁷ This important letter is much damaged on both edges, especially towards the end. Yet the remainder adds several points of interest to our scanty knowledge of the life of the Sicilian Jews.

The epistle opens with an alphabetic eulogy of the communities addressed; three words, mostly alliterations, are assigned to each letter of the alphabet (ll. 2-5). As heads of the Ḳairowan community are addressed Elḥanan בית דין (i. e. head of the court) b. Ḥushiel וְזֵל and Jacob הנגיד b. 'Amram. Probably this Nagid exercised some political

¹⁵⁵ For a similar responsum, cp. גמ"ז no. 188 (by Meshullam).

¹⁵⁶ המשיכילים, not in the Karaitic sense.

¹⁵⁷ Paṭṭiel, of Ahimaṣ Chronicle fame, is said to have been Nagid המננן (המנדר) לקהלות עם אל' הררים במצרים ובארץ ישראל • בפלורמו (Neub. II, 130). Palermo stands here for the whole isle.—In 878, when Syracuse was captured by the Arabs, the local Jews were brought to Palermo, where their coreligionists ransomed them. Likewise, on the capture of Aversa in 925, the parents of Sabbattai Donnolo were freed by the community of Palermo (cp. Zunz, *Zur Gesch. u. Liter.*, 486).

authority over all the North-African communities within the Fātimid realm, except Egypt and Palestine. Another Nagid of Ḳairowan, Abraham b. 'Ata, is known from a poem by Hai and other Genizah fragments (cp. Pozn., *l. c.*, pp. 4-5, and Davidson, *ḤQR.*, N. S., I, 231 ff.). It is now clear that Gabirol in his poem to R. Nissim (in Brody and Albrecht, *שער השיר*, 36-7), sent greetings to Elḥanan (b. Ḥushiel) and Jacob Nagid when concluding [וישלום גם] *לאלחנן חניכו ועל יעקב מירעי נסיכו*. Probably this Jacob is identical with the Nagid spoken of in the letter of 1035 written to Ephraim b. Shemariah of Fustāt (*ḤQR.*, XIX, 255-6). The writer, who probably lived in Ḳairowan, mentions therein that the Nagid is staying for a time in Mahdiya (ll. 18-21); on the Nagid's return (i. e. to Ḳairowan) the case of the donation of 60 Denars which the Palestinian Gaon retained for himself will be discussed. We shall thus learn that the Ḳairowan people would also support the Palestine school under Solomon b. Judah. In a Genizah fragment, to be discussed elsewhere, we find this Gaon corresponding with Samuel b. Abraham of Tahort who has been dealt with above (VIII, 357). Finally, it should be pointed out that *מחרואה* in Ḥushiel's letter (*ḤQR.*, XI, 650, ll. 69-70) clearly stands for Mahdiya whither Judah *ריש בלה* and Joseph b. Berakhya departed. A son of the former is perhaps *יוסף בר יהודה ז"ל ראש הסדר אל מחרוי* (cp. *ḤQR.*, XVI, 691, and Pozn., *ibid.*, XVII, 168-70).

To return to our letter. It has been written with the object of recording the great services two Jews, Ḥayyim (*alias* Khalaf) b. Jacob the Spaniard and his son Nissim, rendered to the Sicilian Jewry (ll. 13-16).¹⁵⁸ It appears

¹⁵⁸ About 1040 Samuel ibn Nagdela also was able to do some good for this Jewry (Zunz, *l. c.*).

from ll. 60-1 that the writers of the letter requested from their Ḳairowan brethren to transmit their epistle to other communities in order that the noble example of these two Jews should find followers elsewhere. Thus it resulted that the original letter, for such our fragment clearly is, as the different signatures and the beautiful clear writing on vellum show, came to Egypt and has been preserved in the Cairo Genizah. It is an interesting way of appreciation of communal service that developed among the Jewries of those times. The testimonial was not presented to the person who merited it, but was circulated among the important Jewish communities that his 'fame go forth throughout all the provinces', and that others 'see from him and do likewise'.

As far as the fragment allows reconstruction, the service of these two Jews consisted in the first instance of reducing a special impost and also obtaining a release from taxes for many poor Jews (ll. 17-20). Moreover, a disaster befell many traders by the loss of ships laden with merchandise to Egypt. This must have happened near the Sicilian coast. When the part that had been saved was landed, the ruler ordained that goods belonging to people not present on the boats should be sold by auction, and the yield to go to the exchequer. While this actually was the case with the merchandise of the non-Jews, the two communal leaders succeeded in saving the goods of their coreligionists and having them returned to their owners (ll. 21-7). As to the trade between Sicily and Egypt, reference is made to the heading of a responsum in Geon. II, 65 ראובן שיגר עם שני' (= שמעון) כשי מאי סיקליה.

Also there was some trouble about the burial ground. A certain official, it seems, made a new survey of the

ground which would have resulted in a number of Jewish as well as non-Jewish tombs being outside its confines, and thus becoming desecrated. But these communal leaders frustrated this design, while the non-Jews could save their tombs only by means of bribery (ll. 27-31).

The remainder of the letter is obscure. A certain Jew, Ḥakim, had been excommunicated, but he obtained influential support from non-Jews with the purpose of harming מר רב נתן, evidently his opponent. The case involved some monetary claim which concerned also the tax-collector. Several people are mentioned, viz. Abr. b. David b. Labrat, Sam. b. Moses (l. 47), a certain Abu'l Faraj who was to travel to Egypt (l. 49), Moses b. Yahya the perfumer, and 'Omar b. Juda of Aleppo (l. 58). The last name is of interest as showing the connexions between the Jews of different countries. We learn also of Sicilian Jews travelling to Egypt.¹⁵⁹ Finally, among the signatories of the letter a name like Pappos b. Sabbattai at once recalls namesakes usual among the Italian Jewry.

The additional information as to Elḥanan's position at Ḳairowan as ראש בית דין, after his father's death, opens up anew the question of the 'Four Captives'. The letter of Ḥushiel to Shemariah has been regarded to have definitely relegated the well-known account of Ibn Daud to the realm of legend. Ḥushiel writes מולדתנו לעבור בי יציאתנו מארץ מלחמורר בארץ ישמעא לא היית אא בלתי על ראיית מנחת פני הרב. Hence he voluntarily came from a non-Arabic country, probably Italy, to Ḳairowan on his way to Egypt to visit Shemariah (cp. Schechter, *FQR.*, XI, 643 ff., Pozn., אנשי קירואן).

¹⁵⁹ Cp. also above (p. 151), Maṣliḥ b. Elijah the Sicilian at Ramlah. In 1016 a Sicilian Jew, 'Amrūn b. Elijah, had Ephraim b. Shemariah arrested in Fustāt to answer for monetary claims (*REJ.*, XLVIII, 171).

no. 18, Eppenstein, *M Schr.*, 1911, 324 ff., 620 ff.). But Ibn Daud never said that Hushiel the father of Elhanan was one of the four captives, but Hushiel the father of Hananel. Schechter's suggestion that the name of Elhanan had been changed in Kairowan into Hananel needs now no further refutation. We find Elhanan using this name after his father's death in the responsum printed above, and also in the document of 1032. The people of Sicily also address him as Elhanan. It should be noted that the letter to Shemariah must have been written before 1012, in which year the famous Egyptian scholar died, as will be proved elsewhere. Thus at least twenty years afterwards he still retained the name of Elhanan, which was that of his grandfather.

But were Elhanan and Hananel brothers? This assumption is now rendered highly improbable. On one hand Hushiel in his letter mentions only one son Elhanan. But this can be explained that Hananel was not yet of an age to be mentioned in his father's epistles. Inexplicable, however, is the fact that Samuel ibn Nagdela in his well-known letter of consolation to Hananel on the death of his father, Hushiel (printed in *הכרמל*, VIII, 245-6, and by Kaufmann, *Magazin*, V, 68 ff., *אוצר טוב*, 64-8), entirely fails to even refer to Hushiel's other son, Elhanan. The late Rabbi is eulogized for having merited such a son as Hananel, who is called *סיני* *ועוקר הרים* and other complimentary titles.¹⁶⁰ This shows, by the way, that Hananel was already a prominent scholar on his father's death; it raises again the

¹⁶⁰ ועל רבנא חננאל לאעדויי איבולא : 1878, p. 67, ll. 5 ff. *אוצר טוב* (1) ולקבולי תנחומא . . . וטובך רבנא חושיאל דאיתנגדית ויטבת דוברנא בברא אלפאנא שכלולא דאוריתא שיחורא דתלמודא אריך ושבור מלבא סיני ועוקר הרים . . . ומאן דאזיל וזמנא דכותיה לא אזיל. Not a word is said about the supposed other son, Elhanan.

above difficulty of his not being mentioned in the letter by Ḥushiel. But the chief question is, why was the supposed elder son of Ḥushiel, Elḥanan, entirely ignored by Samuel ibn Nagdela? Surely a son that bore his father's title of ראש בני רבנן, and was the recognized spiritual head of the Ḳairowan Jewry, as the letter by the Sicilian community clearly shows, ought to have been at least alluded to in a letter of condolence on his father's death sent to his supposed younger brother Ḥananel.

The solution must therefore be ventured that Ḥushiel, the father of Elḥanan, is not identical with his namesake, the father of Ḥananel. The former left voluntarily his Christian native country in order to visit Shemariah at Fustāt. This probably took place between 990 and 1012, during which time we find Shemariah holding the position of ראש at this city. Very likely Shemariah began his activities there before 991, in which year Sherira and Hai sent responsa to him. But some years must have passed before this Rabbi's fame spread so far as a European Christian country to induce Ḥushiel to set out on a journey in order to visit him. On his way to Egypt Ḥushiel passed Ḳairowan, and was persuaded to make his home there. He must have had a great reputation as a scholar, and probably Nissim b. Jacob sat at his feet. Hence the reverential reference to him in ס' המפתח quoted above. Also the poem of Samuel ibn Nagdela (printed in *Magasin* V, אוצר טוב, p. 68, and Brody, *Berliner Festschrift*, part H, pp. 11–12, and כל שירי ר' שמואל הנגיד, 14–15) was probably written in honour of our Ḥushiel. The line ונטשה מדינתך is certainly more applicable to a man that came to Ḳairowan voluntarily than to a prisoner (cp. Pozn., אנשי קירואן, no. 18).

Prior to the arrival of Ḥushiel b. Elḥanan, Ḳairowan had the good fortune of ransoming one of the 'four captives', viz. Ḥushiel, to whom later on a son was born, who received the name of Ḥananel. The native countries of these captive scholars has really no bearing on the veracity of Ibn Daud's account. Shemariah was probably a native of Egypt, where his father Elḥanan presumably held already the dignity of ראש (above, VIII, 352). But Shemariah undoubtedly attended the Pumbedita academy, where he gained the position of 'head of the row of the Nehardeans'. Likewise Ḥushiel may have been a native of Italy or of Spain (as indeed Meiri reports, in Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chronicles*, II, 225). But he studied in Babylon and was a colleague of Shemariah. Owing to the great monetary difficulties under which the Pumbedita school laboured, as the fragments printed above, in addition to those known before, clearly and unmistakably prove,¹⁶¹ four scholars were sent to the West for the purpose of collecting funds. On their way from Babylon they must have first visited Egypt, then North-Africa, and probably crossed the sea to Spain. From there they went to Italy, and, after completing their mission, they took the boat from Bari to Egypt wherefrom they would return to their academy.¹⁶² Their capture by the admiral of the Spanish caliph must have been near the coast of Egypt. This can

¹⁶¹ A statement like this, ולפנינו יבואר כי הישיבות בבבל לא נתבטלו, מפני חוסר הכנסה שלא היה חסר להם כלל ובפרט מהרחוקים בודאי לא נתמעטה ההכנסה בימים האחרונים (Halévy, *דורות הראשונים*, III, 286; the words are overlined by me), needs now no further comment.

¹⁶² It appears to me that ספסתין (Neub. I, 67 : *היו הולכים ממדינת בארי*) is a corruption for פסטאט, which Ibn Daud usually calls מצרים (cp. p. 68). Their destination would have been this central community of Egypt.

be gathered from the fact that the admiral (or his henchman) on the return journey touches Alexandria first, where Shemariah is ransomed, then Ifrikiya, and finally Spain.

In general outline Ibn Daud's account probably is based on a genuine tradition, though hardly correct in detail. It is very unlikely that the capture took place during the reign of 'Abdurrahman an-Nazzār (912-61). Shemariah was probably ראש שורת נהרדעי, already under Sherira, as the Bodl. fragment (*ŒQR.*, VI, 223) tends to show; hence after 968. Moreover, from the year of Shemariah's death (1012) it can be gathered that in 955, the year which Rappoport, Leberecht, and also Marx (*ZfHB.*, XIII, 74) fix for the event of the capture, Shemariah was still of a tender age. More likely the admiral's exploit happened in the reign of Abdurrahman's son, al-Ḥakam II (961-75), probably about 970.¹⁶³ There

¹⁶³ Ibn Daud himself states (Neub. I, 69): ודבר זה היה בימי שרירא נאון: קרוב לשנת ד' אלפים תשנ (תשנה, תשל' v. l.) הן פחות הן יתר מעט. Whatever reading is adopted, Abdurrahman was no longer alive then. His name was so famous in later times that it was brought into connexion with the coming of R. Moses to Cordova. The date תשל' = 970 is to be preferred to תשנ, since already in 991 we find Sherira and Hai sending responsa to Shemarya, who must have sent his questions some time before, and had already then an established connexion with Kairowan (cp. above, VIII, 354); תשנה is now out of the question. — It is interesting to note that Ibn 'Uṣaibia also makes the independence of the Spanish Jews in religious matters from the Babylonian scholars to have commenced from the time of al-Ḥakam. 'Ḥasdai b. Isaac (ibn Shaprut)', he writes, 'was among the foremost Jewish scholars versed in their law. He opened to his coreligionists in Andalusia the gates of knowledge of the religious law, of chronology, &c. Before his time they had to apply to the Jews of Bagdad on legal questions, and on matters referring to the calendar and the dates of the festivals. But when Ḥasdai was raised by al-Ḥakam to a very high position, he was able to procure from the oriental Jews all the works he required. Since then the Jews of Andalusia learned what they knew not before, and were relieved of their former trouble' (cited by Munk, *La Philosophie chez les Juifs*, p. 17). The purchase of books from the Orient, mentioned by Ibn 'Uṣaibia, recalls

is also a romantic feature in Ibn Daud's description of the four captives hiding their identity and pretending to be ordinary travellers. It is evidently more in accordance with the facts that their captor calculated well the heavy ransom he would be able to obtain for their release. He thus brought Shemariah to Alexandria where, as the son of presumably the ראש of Fustāt, the captive probably fetched a high prize. Knowing that the Jewry of one country¹⁶⁴ would be unable to pay the exorbitant ransom for all the four captured scholars, the admiral proceeded next to Ifrikiya, where he extorted his full prize for Ḥushiel. With the other captives he finally arrived in Spain, where he probably made the Jews pay dearly for the freedom of their scholars. As they probably visited the countries from Egypt to Spain during their mission of collecting funds for the academy, they must have been well-known when they were brought as prisoners.

The above solution of two scholars bearing the same name of Ḥushiel and living in Kairovan, will not find, it is admitted, ready acceptance. But it is the only one that appeared to me capable of solving the problem of Elhanan and Hananel. With our hitherto scanty knowledge of the internal life of this important community, it is natural that

the fact of Iḥasdai having bought copies of the Talmud from Sura (above, p. 152). But it stands to reason that this independence was chiefly due to a scholar of R. Moses' type having settled in Cordova, as Ibn Daud reports (*l. c.*, 68 bottom): **והקול נשמע בכל ארץ ספרד וארץ המערב ובאו כל התלמידים לקרות לפניו וכל השאלות שהיו שואלים מן הישיבות שאלו ממנו**.

¹⁶⁴ It should be kept in mind that about 970 conditions were very critical in Egypt. Subsequent to the upheaval in connexion with Jauhar's invasion of the country in 969, a great famine raged in Egypt till the winter of 971-2 (cp. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*², 104). Thus probably the Egyptian Jews were unable to ransom all the four scholars, and only Shemariah was freed, while the others were taken to other communities.

the existence of the two namesakes Ḥushiel has not been realized. In 1057 K̲airowan fell a prey to the Bedouins and probably the local Jewish community came then to an end. The fame of Ḥananel, the Talmud commentator, and of his father Ḥushiel was preserved to posterity. His contemporary who bore a similar name, Elḥanan, and whose father was also a Ḥushiel, had been entirely forgotten till the Genizah finds recovered his name from oblivion. Hence it resulted that some references to his father Ḥushiel by contemporaries, as R. Nissim and Samuel ibn Nagdela (cp. above, p. 167), were taken to apply to Ḥushiel, the father of Ḥananel.

A

(recto, col. 1)

[ילמ]דנו רבנו הרב הגדול ראש בית דין
 [ראש] בי רבנן נטרוהי מן שמיא
 [ראובן] שִׁצָא לְחֹזֶר בְּמִדְיַת הַיָּם
 [ובניו ק]טנים והניה לפניהם ספר
 5 [מ]קרא שקורין בה ועמדו עליהם גויים
 אנסים ונטלוה מהם באונס ואין באותו
 המקום בִּידֹאֵר ולא שלטון מציל גֹּזֵל מִיד
 גֹּזֵלוֹ וְתוֹבְעִים מֵאֵז וְעַד עֵתָה וְלֹא נִתְיַשְׁוּ
 105
 והלכו בה אותם גויים למקום אחר ומכרוה
 10 שם מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל¹⁶⁶ ואז עמדו אותן יִשְׂרָאֵל
 שקנאוה מאותן הגויים והקדישוה
 בבית הכנסת שבעירם עבשו ומת
 ראובן בעל מקרא זו במדינת הים וגדלו
 הבנים ובאו לתבוע את אותה מקרא
 15 שנטלוה מהם בענין המפורש למעלה
 ומצאוה שמכרוה אותם גויים אנסים
 מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל¹⁶⁶ ואותו יִשְׂרָאֵל כבר הקדישה

¹⁶⁵ חֹקֵם judge, magistrate.

¹⁶⁶ Read ליִשְׂרָאֵל.

ילמדנו רבנו יחי לעד היש מן הדין ליתומים
 הללו להוציאה ממקום שהיא ולהחזירה
 20 לידיהם כי מתחלה באונס נלקחה מהם
 ולא נתיאשו אחד מפני שהיא שהיו
 קטנים ועוד שִׁקְיוֹ מדמים כי
 אביהן בחיים שיבא אליהם יִטְלֶנָּה
 ויחזירה מכל מקום שהיא ולא עוד
 25 אלא שהמקום שרויים בו ולשם נִטְלָאָה
 נטלה מהם אין בו דין ולא דין והרבה
 חמס וגזל מצוי אל הַמְלָכוֹת
 ואצל הגויים [ואי]ן לשם מי שמציל
 גזול מיד [גזולו]
 30 יורינו א[דוננו הדין במכירה]
 זו וכן [שכרתו מאת יי' ראובן הנית]

(recto, col. 2)

קטנים וגזלו מידם ספר מן [קרא אשר]
 קורים בו ונטלוהו בחמס והיו טוב[עין]
 מאז ולא השיגו להציל מידם ולא יתיאשו
 מלבקש והלכו אותם האנסים בעצמם
 5 ומכרו הספר ההוא לישראל והקונים
 ההוא התפיסו בבית הכנסת
 כך ראינו שאותו המכירה שמכרו
 האנסים ההם מכירה בטלה היא
 לדברי רבותינו ז"ל¹⁶⁷ המציל מיד הַגִּיִּים
 10 מיד הלסטים ומן הנהר
 הרי אלו שלו נתיאשו אין סתמא לא
 אמ' רב אשי לא שנו אלא
 בלסטים גוי דדיני

¹⁶⁷ B. kamma 114 a.

בנייתי אבל ישראל דאמר מי יאמר
 15 אפילו סדתמא¹⁶⁸ נמי מייאשי
 ואלו כיון שהנולנים הם גויים
 וגם הבעלים
 לא נתייאשו כאשר פירש השואל
 מכירת אלו הנולנים מכירתם
 20 [ב]טלה ולא עוד אלא שאין במקום
 [ההוא בידואר] שיש[שם] מציל גזל
 [מיד גזולו]

(verso, col. 1)

. [ב]יטול המכירה דקיימא לן
 הבא מחמת חוב ומחמת אנפרות
 אין בו משום סיקריקון ומסקנא
 אין דין אנפרות כבבבל מאי טעמא
 5 [כיון דא]יכא בידואר [ו]לא אויל
 [קביל אי]מור אחולי אחיל¹⁶⁹ ואין
 [כאן] יאוש בעלים על כנון זה
 אלא אם שמעו להם בפירוש שנתיאשו
 וזה שאמרו רבותינו זל¹⁷⁰ גזלן שנטל
 10 מזה ונתן לזה מי¹⁷¹ שנטל נטל ומה
 שנתן נתן אחר יאוש הוא ואם
 מתברר שהגויים האנסים
 בעצמם הם המוכרים מכירתם
 בטלה והדין ליתן לבעלים הדמים
 15 וליטול הספר שלהם ואם טוענים
 שכבר התפיסוה לבית הכנסת

¹⁶⁸ The marks on ך denote that the letter should be deleted.

¹⁶⁹ Gittin 58 b.

¹⁷⁰ Tos. Ketubot 8, 3, B. l. amma 10, 23; B. m. 21 b.

¹⁷¹ Read מה.

בהדיא קימא לן¹⁷² אין אדם מקדיש
 דבר שאינו שלו מה שנראה
 לנו בשאלה זו כתבנו ונתננו לשואל
 צור ברחמיו ישימנו מן המושבילים²⁰
 להורות דין אמת ומיטפט צדק
 אלהן ברבי חושאל
 הנצבה

¹⁷² Cp. B. J. 69 a and b.

B
(Address, verso)

לכבוד גדולת קדושת רבוותאנו ומרוותאנו הקהל הקדוש אשר בן[רואן] מנצח אחים קהל צלה דוי
 קהלות מהדיה יברכם אביר יעקב וישמרו רוב שלום רבה
 (recto)

... צדיקים ירשו ארץ [וי] שבנו לעד עליה ¹⁷³ וצדיקים ישמחו יעלצו לפני אלהים וישישו [בשמחה ¹⁷⁴]
 [א] ביום ברורים [בחור]ם [ג] . . . נבירים גם קד . . . דורים ענדים מותקנים הוני תעודה בזקנה [ו]
 [ז] חורים חברים [דר] שנים טובים מטיבים וממנים ישרים מוישרים מישוענים כשירים כבירים ומר . . . [ל]
 [מ] נידים נכבדים מעודנים שרים כמוסרים וסגנים עורים עניים ומעונים פורי יבויים מתא . . . [ם] [צ]
 [פ] [מנים ולא] היתחננים שופטים ויטורים ודינים תנאים תרצנים ההם רבותינו ומן[רוחותנו אשר בקדושת] ⁵
 [יעקב מוחי] קום בצור ישראל להתהלל כבוד גדולת סגולת כלהת הילת קשישת ישישת הקהל ה[קדוש אשר בקירואן]
 [ובראש כבוד מר רב אל]תנו נט רה בית דין ברבי חייאל זצ"ל וכבוד מר רב יעקב הנזיר ברבי עמרם וכל הקנים התנוני[ם]
 אשר במה[יה] אשר כולם נדיבי עמי וישועים אשר בטוב מעשימו נודעים אשר צדק זורעים ונוטעים
 וחם
 יום אח . . . לא נודעים . וי צורם בעורם . איילת שנת לאורם . להניח להניח נהרם . לסוככם באברתו . להסתורם
 בס[תרו] . . .

¹⁷³ Ps. 37. 29.¹⁷⁴ Ps. 68. 4.

- 10 [מנחל עדניו] להשקותם. ולביאת משיחו לזכותם. וליום יישע להראותם. ולקבצין נדחים אל אדמתם. ולקריית משישם.
 לב
 ח[ו]ותם. ולהביאם אל גבול קדשו מקום חפלתם. פדויים ברנה ושמחת עולם על ראשם. 176 להדחות יחד עם כל
 בני ג[ו]לה
 כחול[ו]תם וכמעות הנהרות 177 ממנו צעירים בית דין צפלה וזקניה צעירי שמישים התואבים אוון שילוח[ו]כס
 כחבנו לכבוד רבותינו היקרים לח[ו]דע[ו] חסדי אליהו יתברך ויתרומם שמו אשר לא כלו רחמיו
 כאר[ו]ן עיפה למים
 [מ]עצמו ובכל דור
 [מ]קום להם מושי[ו]עים לגדור פרצותיהם. ולשפץ 177 סדקיהם. כענין הו ה בנועם צדקתו ואף גם זאת בחיותם באר[ו]ן
 אויביהם [לא מאסתים ולא]
 15 [נעליתם לבלותם להפר ברית] אתם אני יי אלהים. 178 ולא נעלם מרבותינו מדר[ו]ש ה[פ]סוק הוה שדרשו הקדמונים וְלֹא יַעֲשִׂינוּ
 רבותינו בשת[ו]י שנים
 [הקום יי] אנו יתעלה שמו בדורינו משישים ונא[מ]נין רועים את ה חיים הקרוי כלף בר יעקב הספרדי ואת ה [נסים
 חמור]
 צדקתם. ובנפישותם ומרכולתם. ולא הצריכו לאחד אחיהם ואחיותיהם. להוציא פדוטה מאתם. בכלום מ
 [א]שום רבים מהמם ממון רב ביראת אל הבמיו בלבותם. ובחן שמישן עליהם הבורא בעני בעל המס
 הוציאו וחסירו מנחת השם אנשים דלים וחפשו המום לנפישם והורידם. וממחת המום
 חק כבד. גם הוציאו וחסירו מנחת השם אנשים דלים וחפשו המום לנפישם והורידם. וממחת המום
 176 Cp. Isa. 35. 10 = 51. 11. 177 Cp. Isa. 48. 19. 178 Cp. Isa. 48. 19. 179 Meg. II a.

. הנגרים. וכמו כן בגרום העונות. וטבעו הספניות. ההיו למצרים פונות. ביטנה זו ברוע עניינות. וא[בד]
 ת. המקום ימלא להם הסדרונות. וימיר להם תמור יגמות שטונות. ואשר נמלט להם מהים מנעם השלטון ממו
 הפ[סינ]ת ולא נמצאו בעליהן בעת המביעה והובא כל מה טעון בהן אל מדינתנו ושלח השלטון ידו בסחרות למכ[ר]
 ח ה חיים הנקרא כלף ור נסים חמוד והלכו אל השלטון ופיוסוהו ברוב בינתם ולאטו בו בישו תבונתם עד שעזרם כ
 ס עליהם והחסד הנמנחת בהם. והשיב לאחינו נכסיהם. לאשר נמצא בהם. ולאשר לא היה עמוהם. ויהי גם גדול עלי
 אך נמכרו ורואות עיניהם. ונטל השלטון דמיהם. ולא יכלו להועיל לנפשותם. ואחינו ישראל נטלו את שלהם
 המקום ירבה כמורה ויוציא מחלציהם. למלאות [מקו]מוהיהם. גם בבית הקברות אירענו מאורע רע וקשה כי ב
 ות. ונטה בהם קו המדה ליטול מהם כשלישים ונת נו מהם. והלך ה חיים עם ה נסים חמודו בנפשותם ובמאור[ם]
 [והצילו א]ת קברותינו מידם. והסירו קו המדה ומידים. ומיר בנינו [חל]קינו ביד רמה ובכח גדול מחקקינו. ואין שטן ואין
 פגע רע בש[ב]נוותינו
 לא [עניקינו גם לא השתרנו לאדם פרוטה אחת והערלים ל]א יכ[לו] להציל את שלה[ם] כי [אם בממון רב. המקום בהמון
 רחמיו יספיק]
 ו[קיימם בזה ושעתיד לחיות. ויפרם וירבם בלי עצב ובלי נהיות. ¹⁸⁰ כי לא עזבו חסדם את החיים וישבארין התחיות
 גם ב
 שגדם לעצמו. נשאר בנידיו זמן ואחרי כן הלך ונסתייע בחשובי האומות והלכו עמו אל השליש ובקשו להזיק את מר
 רב [נתן]
 ומם אווים. וכשמוע ה חיים הדבר לא יכול לצאת מביתו שהיה חולה ונתחלחל על דבר זה ויצירים אחוזו צעירי [ילדה]
 הלך ותקו הדברים ער שהסיר מי כל הזיק ונק. וכל דבר עצב. ואחרי כן הולך את
 ד[בר רע והמקום ברוך הוא המציאו חן ושכל טוב
 ¹⁸⁰ Plural of נחיה, Mic. 2. 4.

קבריהם פן תבוא עליך בו כלום תחבולת. גם ה
 מ[ר] רב נתן שצ' ואחרי כן הלך לו לשלום אל ד[רכו] ?
 ויהי ממוחרת צאתו הביא חכים הרשע המנוח² בדבר
 אח[רי] שהשבעים הפש' בתיהם ולא כצא' וגזם וא[מר]
 ביד איש נאמן. כשמוע ר' חיים ר' נסים חמודו⁴⁰
 כעס גדול ואמר להם הלא תרעו שאתם כצא' מר[עה].
 להביאיו עם הממון שעמו. ונשתטחו לפניו ברו
 ו עד הביאו הממון. וזנה קבלתי שאלחכם ופיוס[ם].
 ים ואמר לו יעשה א[דונג] חסד ויקבע לנו זמן עד שגשגך אליו. וישלח הממון. וא⁴⁵
 כמון עצמו. ובא ר' חיים וקבץ מקצת זקנינו בביתו וכתבו למר רב נתן שצ' במה ש'ה
 ח[כמת] מר רב נתן וחבונתו. בהגיע הכתב אלי יקרדתי. שיגר הממון על ידי נאמן כוא
 ל[בע]ל [המנ] ועמיהם ר' אברהם בר דוד בן לבראט ר' שמואל בר מישה
 אמר להם זה הוא הממון שנשבעתי עליו ונשבעו לי בחובר[ת]
 בנך אבא אל פרנ ולא עוד אלא שהולך למצרים וכבר נש[בע]
 וסו וגם נפלו על הארץ כמה פעמים ואמרו לו⁵⁰
 יוס[ף] על יקרד לפני אדוננו המלך. ורדונינו וחפ[צינו]
 מ[מון] אליו וקבל תחנוניו והשיבו ל

המקום ברוב רחמיו יחשבה להם לטובה
מ[מנו תרעומתי רבותיו וכל ישראל יוכו לרב ט[טוב]
קה עיניהם יפות וידיהם רחבות ומשופות ובגמו 55
שלמון וכי לא היה אדם חולה עליו ולא דורש ואין מבקש
אל וקדושו יגעו הרב בברר הזה עד שהצילו ממנו זה מבין שני א[ריות]
הן ויגע עמהם עד שהוצל . וגם ר' משה בר' יחיה הבטש ור' עמאר בר' יהושע אלחלבי כ
נסים חמורו היסורים המאוסים הכשרים המוכשרים אשר אורו חרין ועמדו בפר[ין] 60
מעיהם להשריין . בחקותיו ובתורותיו להתרין . ושאלנו מכם רבותיו דבר זה מ
אלה הדברים לרבותינו קהלות קהלות ישראל למען יתעוררו אנש[ים]
ברחמיו הרבים יטוב לכם וירבה אתכם מאבותיכם[ם]
שמואל בר משה זל דויד בר לוי ננ שמואל
ע[רי עדי]
מהלאן בר יהושע יוס[ף] 65
אל ננ סט אברהם בר חיים ננ יהודה בר אליה ננ
אליה ב[ב]ר יונה ננע אליה בר אברהם[ם]
יעקב ננ נסים בר אברהם ננ מתתיה בר יונ[ה]
ננ שבתי ב[ר]
פפוס בר שבתי ננ
יעקב ננ
יהודה יצחק ביר יצחק החון ננע יצחק בר
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THE PHILOSOPHY OF DON HASDAI CRESCAS

BY MEYER WAXMAN, New York.

PART II

CHAPTER III. INTRODUCTORY.

OPINIONS HELD BY THE PRE-MAIMONIDIAN JEWISH
PHILOSOPHERS CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS OF
OMNISCIENCE, PROVIDENCE, AND FREEDOM
OF THE WILL.

THE problem of the freedom of the will presents one of the most interesting aspects in the history of human thought. Its roots lie far back in antiquity. It arose out of the peculiar position that man holds in the domain of nature, and at the moment that self-consciousness appeared in man and enabled him to reflect upon the surrounding world, and his own personality as related to it. Man represents a puzzling riddle unto himself. On the one hand, he feels himself to be the master of things, the lord of being; on the other, contemplation teaches him that he is only a part of that great mysterious environment called nature. Furthermore, this nature is not a haphazard conglomeration of things and events, but there is a kind of succession and sequence, law and order, and to which even he, *nolens volens*, must submit himself. The development of religion simply changed the aspect of the problem. It placed man in conflict with the will of the gods, instead of with the blind natural force. With polytheism, however, the gods were not strong enough to replace entirely the

old something that rules over the destiny of man, now known by the name of fate, and were even themselves supposed to be dominated by it. Homer says, 'When the hour of fate comes for man, even a god is helpless, no matter how much he loves him'.¹¹⁰ Herodotus goes farther, and asserts that a God is not able to avoid it.¹¹¹ Thus the problem becomes a much discussed subject in ancient thought; and it can really be said that out of this dual character of a man's position there developed Greek ethics with its special emphasis upon contemplation and thought.

With the rise of monotheism, positing a being all-powerful, all-wise, and all-knowing, the problem became more acute. How in the face of such a being, in comparison with which man dwindles into insignificance, can man save his personal freedom? It ought by the nature of the conception of God to be given up. Yet peculiarly enough, the first monotheistic religion not only did not reject the freedom of the will, but incorporated it as a dogma.¹¹² The story of the receiving of the ten commandments as described in the Bible,¹¹³ as well as the term covenant used innumerable times to designate the process of receiving the Law, implies plainly that man is free and that the Israelites were entirely at liberty to reject the Law of God. The idea of freedom is repeated many times in the Bible.¹¹⁴ One may argue that the monotheistic conception was probably loose with the Hebrews in the early times, yet none can accuse the Hebrew prophets, especially the later ones, of a lack of pure monotheism, and in spite of it the freedom of the will is asserted by them with the same

¹¹⁰ *Iliad*, XVII, 446.

¹¹¹ Herodotus I, 97.

¹¹² Dr. D. Neumark, תולדות העיקרים בישראל, I, pp. 81-6.

¹¹³ Exod. 19. 10.

¹¹⁴ Deut. 30. 19.

vigour as the unity of God.¹¹⁵ It is rather a curious fact that the problem of the compatibility of the freedom of the will with that of God's omniscience and providence is never found in prophetic writings. There are some allusions—in the Psalms—to the problem of injustice, namely, why the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper,¹¹⁶ and quite a discussion of it in Rabbinic literature,¹¹⁷ but the problem as a whole was never touched upon.

However, it was bound to crop up. With the rise of scientific philosophic reflection in Judaism, and the manifestation of the desire to base religious dogmas on philosophic principles, the monotheistic conception had to be carried to its logical conclusion, and as a result the problem of the relation of man and God appeared in its full vigour, and demanded a solution. A similar process was going on in the Mohammedan world. The Koran, preaching the purest and most abstract monotheism, and carrying it to logical conclusions, presents a decided predestinarian aspect, though some endeavour to find vestiges of free will in it.¹¹⁸ But human reason and philosophic speculation felt indignant at such a conception, and revolted against it. This brought about the rise of

¹¹⁵ Cp. Micah 6. 8.

¹¹⁶ Ps. 37: 25, 26, as well as the contents of the whole chapter, which seems to be intended as an answer to the problem of injustice. The problem itself is stated by Jeremiah in a rather bold way when he asks (Jer. 12. 1), **מדוע דרך רשעים צלחה שלו כל בני בניך**; also Job grapples with the problem, and cries out, **ארץ נתנה ביד רשע פני שופטיה יכסה אם לא** 'the earth is given into the hands of the wicked: he covereth the face of the judges: if not, where and who is he?' (Job 9. 24).

¹¹⁷ Berakot 7 a.

¹¹⁸ Prof. Guyard in his book on 'Abd-er Razzaqu et son traité de la prédestination et du libre arbitre', quoted by L. Stein in his *Willensfreiheit*, p. 3.

the sects and various doctrines, attempting the solution of the problem in one way or another.¹¹⁹

The first who dealt with the problem in Jewish philosophy was, as might be expected, Saadia. Saadia says, Man is free in his actions, and there is no intervention on the part of God. This fact is proved by the evidence of sense, of reason, and of tradition. We see in daily life that man is master of himself; he speaks or is silent at will, does a number of other things or refrains from doing them, and never conceives that anybody can restrain him in acting according to his wish. This evidence, though it may seem superficial to us, carried a certain amount of conviction to Saadia, who, following the Mutazilites, attached great importance to conception, for whatever can be conceived is real, and the contrary, whatever is not conceived does not possess any reality.¹²⁰ Hence the emphasis laid by Saadia on the fact that man conceives and that accordingly he is free. Reason testifies to freedom. First, it is proved that it is impossible for one act to be produced by two agents. If God interfered in human actions, it would be the effect of two agents, God and man. Secondly, if God forces man to do a certain act, what reason would there be for his punishment or reward? The believer and the atheist would be on an equal footing.¹²¹ As for the

¹¹⁹ ואומר אחרי הדברים האלה כי הבורא אין לו שום הנהגה במעשי בני אדם ואיננו מכריחם לעבודה ולא למרי. ויש לי על זה ראיות מדרך *Emunoth Wedeoth*, ed. Josefov, 1885, p. 64 b.

¹²⁰ Cp. Introduction, sect. 3.

¹²¹ *Emunoth Wedeoth*, p. 65 a. Aristotle offers similar arguments to prove his assertion that man is the originator of things. He says: 'Testimony seems to be borne both by private individuals and by lawgivers, too, in that they chastise and punish those that do wrong, while they honour those who

objection on traditional grounds, he quotes a number of verses to that effect.

The problem arises then, How is it possible to conceive freedom of human action and at the same time prescience of God? If God knows beforehand that man will rebel against His will, does it not follow *eo ipso* that man must act in this fashion, for otherwise God's knowledge is not perfect? Saadia replies that, in reality, the supposed conclusion does not follow. God's knowledge is not the cause of human actions. Were it the cause, we should have to grant that man's actions are predestined, for God's knowledge is eternal, and necessarily the effects would be determined, but the case is not so. It is true that He knows beforehand the events that are going to happen, but He knows them in their true light. God knows whichever way man is going to select, yet His knowledge does not have any causal relation to the things which are going to happen. It is pure knowledge without any active force. The fact that the things happen in the future and He knows them beforehand does not bear on the subject, for His knowledge is above temporal accidents. There is only one time existing in regard to God, and that is the present. If one will ask, How is it possible that, if God knows a man is going to speak, yet he could have chosen to be silent? to this the reply is made, that had he kept silent God's knowledge would have taken cognizance of the fact, for God knows the way man will choose after deliberation.¹²²

By way of illustration, we may compare the prescience

act rightly'. Of course, here the reference is not to theological authority, but political; however, the force of the argument is the same. *Nic. Ethics*, III, V.

¹²² *Emunoth Wedeoth*, p. 65 a-b.

of God, as Saadia conceived it, to a man standing on a very high mountain, and from this exalted position he views an exceptionally long row of men passing by; some have passed, some are passing, and some will pass. He sees them all, for his position is very elevated, but his seeing is not the cause of their passing.¹²³ However, we cannot help admitting that a shrinkage in God's prescience has been assumed by Saadia. As a result, objections to his theory have been raised by later religious philosophers.¹²⁴ But Saadia was very zealous to save human freedom, and some sacrifice had to be made.¹²⁵ The problem of the compatibility of the providence of God with the freedom of the will is not treated by Saadia definitely. It seems, nevertheless, from the whole tenor of his book, that he believes in the existence of such a providence, for how could he not believe it? It is found in the Bible. There are, however, some passages bearing on the subject. In one of them it is stated that the events that happen to man are through Divine causality, but at the same time they are partly caused by man himself, namely, that some come as a punishment for his previous choice.¹²⁶ The question still remains open. Are the events predestined to happen simultaneously with God's prescience of them, or is it that God causes them to happen after the human actions have taken place? But no such discussion is found.

Bahia, as an ethical philosopher, and a man imbued

¹²³ Commentary to *Emunoth Wedeoth*, ad locum.

¹²⁴ Albo says that Saadia's view is almost tantamount to the opinion that denies God any knowledge of possibles.

¹²⁵ The early Christian fathers encountered a similar difficulty, and followed the same path. So did Origen allow a kind of narrowing of God's prescience. Fischer, *History of Christian Dogma*, 106.

¹²⁶ *Emunoth Wedeoth*, 66b.

with religious feeling, does not devote much discussion to this difficult problem in its philosophical aspect. The conflict between freedom and prescience, and the logical contradiction resulting from the full conception of the former, are hardly brought to light. The problem is rather viewed from the aspect of Providence. He does not call it the problem of freedom and necessity, but of necessity and justice. The point of gravity is, How can we conceive Divine justice in distributing reward and punishment when human actions are pre-ordained? Bahia puts forth several solutions to the problem. Some, he says, have denied Providence in regard to human actions, and asserted that man is entirely free, thus saving the justice of God. Some, on the other hand, have given up freedom, but as for justice they denied the possibility of the human understanding to grasp it. Some admit Providence in human actions, excepting such as pertain to right and wrong. In such acts choice is left to man. This is really the traditional view expounded in the Talmud.¹²⁷ It is also the one that Bahia follows. He feels, however, that the problem is not solved yet, that there are points which demand a solution, especially prescience; this last is not even mentioned by name, but it is surely meant by the following explanation. Just to cover all difficulties, Bahia adds that the ways of God are hidden from man, and human understanding cannot conceive the way God's justice works in the universe.¹²⁸ It must be admitted that this solution of the problem is hardly a philosophical one. Bahia's distinction between

טפה זו מה תהא עליה . . . ואילו רשע וצדיק לא קאמר כד"ר¹²⁷
 הכל בידי שמים חנינא . . . Niddah 16b; also
 מיראת שמים חוץ
 Berakot 33 b.

¹²⁸ *Hobot ha-Lebabot*, pp. 131-32.

human and Divine knowledge does not carry with it the speculative characteristics which attend that of Maimonides, who offered a similar suggestion (cp. *infra*). It is simply a blind resignation of a believer to the dogmas of belief.

Halevi treats the problem of freedom in an accurate and philosophical manner. He asserts that human actions are possible and not necessary, and proves it from the general belief of man.¹²⁹ Halevi always laid great emphasis on the generality of an idea and the *consensus omnium*. As for the conflict of freedom with God's providence, Halevi evades it by asserting that there are two kinds of Divine causality, direct and indirect. As examples of the first kind may serve such things as the order of the universe, the way and manner of the composition of all living being, the genera of the vegetable kingdom, and all such phenomena that *eo ipso* testify to the plan of a wise maker. As an instance of the second kind, we may quote the burning of a log of wood by fire. The immediate cause of this phenomenon is easily explained; but this cause has another cause, and so on until we finally reach the first cause, still the connexion is not a direct one. We have then a fourfold division of events, divine, natural, chance-wise, and elective or choice-wise.¹³⁰ The Divine are those that must be referred immediately to Divine attention, such as have been mentioned. The natural arise through mediate causes (סבות אמצעיות), but with an end in view. The chance-wise arise also through mediate causes, but with no particular order or design. The elective are those

¹²⁹ *Kuzari*, ed. Isaac Metz, Hamburg, 1838, p. 119.

¹³⁰ (Corrected by Zifrinowitsch in his edition, p. 120, ואם תקצר.) תקרב מציאות זה בחלוקה הזאת: המעשים יהיו אלהיים או טבעיים או מקריים או מבוחרים. Cp. for a similar division the *Physics* of Aristotle, II, 5-6.

of which the human will is the cause. Freedom is one of the mediate causes. We have then a twofold system of Divine causality, the immediate and the mediate. The mediate through the causal nexus returns to God, but the connexion is a loose one, no force is exerted and man is free to choose.¹³¹ Divine providence is thus saved, for all events revert to Him indirectly. Halevi goes on polemizing against those that deny the possible. He argues, If man has no choice in acting, but is forced to perform the act by the sequence of events, why then do men display greater anger at the one who injures them willingly than at the one who does so unwillingly? Are not all human actions involuntary?¹³²

In regard to the problem of the compatibility of the prescience of God with freedom, Halevi does not add anything original, but follows Saadia and the Mutazilites,¹³³ in asserting that the knowledge of an event beforehand is not the cause of the realization of that event. Halevi lays a great deal of stress on the middle causes (cp. above). His ethics thus receives a contemplative aspect. The middle causes are powerful influences, and it is necessary to know which to choose and which to obviate.¹³⁴ The natural causes are necessary, but yet there is a possibility by a knowledge of facts to obstruct their results and avoid them. Halevi admits a special kind of Providence, for in his division of events there is one class of Divine action; and there is nothing preventing God from interfering at

¹³¹ *Kuzari*, p. 120. The idea of the mediate causes was known in antiquity by the Stoics. Cp. L. Stein in his *Willensfreiheit*, p. 110, note 175.

¹³² *Kuzari*, p. 120.

¹³³ Halevi alludes directly to the Muta'zilah in that.

¹³⁴ *Kuzari*, p. 122.

certain occasions, and effecting something immediately even in a world of mediate causes. He evades, however, the problem of injustice. It is possible, he says, that if we were able to penetrate and follow up the long series of causes, we might discover the reasons why the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper, but this is really beyond human intelligence. We must, therefore, rely on the knowledge of God and His justice, and admit our own shortcomings.¹³⁵

Abraham Ibn Daud, the first Aristotelian in Jewish philosophy, is a strong supporter of the freedom of the human will. In fact, it is his principal ethical foundation. He says, Man possesses the possibility to do evil, and the stronger the inclination is in a certain man, the harder the struggle to overcome that inclination, the higher the value which is attached to the virtuous act.¹³⁶ He utilizes the doctrine of the twofold Divine causality, but it is hardly possible that he borrowed it from Halevi, as he evidently did not know him.¹³⁷ Most likely both derived it from a common source.¹³⁸ In regard to the problem of prescience and freedom, Ibn Daud solves it in a very simple manner. He concedes that God's foreknowledge is undecided in regard to the exact way man will act. He knows beforehand that certain actions will be presented to human choice,

ואפשר שיגלה בחקירה ברוב הסבות כצדי (בצדיק) זיפרינווויטש ¹³⁵ ורע לו רשע וטוב לו ומה שאיננו נגלה ימסרו בו הענין אל דעת האלוהים וצדיקו, p. 125.

¹³⁶ *Emunah Ramah*, ed. Weil, Fran

¹³⁷ In the introduction to the *Emunah Ramah*, p. 2, Ibn Daud mentions that he read Saadia's book as well as Ibn Gabirol, but makes no mention of the *Kuzari*. This goes to prove that he was unacquainted with it, for otherwise he certainly would have mentioned it.

¹³⁸ On this subject there is a difference of opinion between D. Kaufmann, *Attributenlehre*, p. 279, and Stein in his *Willensfreiheit*, p. 20, note 43.

but not which way he will choose.¹³⁹ Ibn Daud is also radical in his theory of Providence. According to him it extends only to the universals, namely, as far as things are connected with the order of the universe, but not to the particulars. He, however, excepts the human genus, an exception which we find later in Maimonides. He introduces also an ascending scale of Providence, even in regard to this genus. Those that strive more in the knowledge of God and the principles of reason are especially looked after.¹⁴⁰ The question of the existence of evil in the world is answered by Ibn Daud by negating its reality. There is no evil in the world; God is the cause of good only. The answer is often repeated in Jewish as well as in general philosophy. We shall meet it in a modified form also in Spinoza.

¹³⁹ *Emunah Ramah*, p. 96.

¹⁴⁰ ולעצמים הנכבדים השגחה בנמצאות זה העולם בכללי ובמין האנושי בפרט והנה על כל פנים ייוחד ההשגחה בשיעור רב אחר זריותו להפקיד רוחו אליו, *Ibid.*, p. 97.

CHAPTER IV

MAIMONIDES' VIEW AND CRESCAS'S COMMENTS.

MAIMONIDES, the chief conciliator between theology and philosophy in Jewish thought, devotes much space to the elucidation of the problem discussed in the previous chapter, as well as to its solution in all its aspects. Maimonides, as his predecessors, distinguishes between the first cause of events and the proximate ones. The proximate ones he divides, as those before him, into natural, chance-wise, and choice-wise.¹⁴¹ Choice, however, is the exclusive gift of man who is endowed with a special faculty. Maimonides introduces a distinction, already made by Aristotle,¹⁴² between instinctive willing which is only a result of desire, and human choice.¹⁴³ He, however, does not connect choice with reason as much as Aristotle does. Maimonides, as a theologian, attributes it to a direct act of the will of God. Just as God willed that fire should tend upwards and earth downwards, so did He institute that man should be master of himself, and his actions should be in his own hands.¹⁴⁴ He, like Ibn Daud,

¹⁴¹ *Moreh*, II, ch. 48; *Guide*, p. 222.

¹⁴² Moral choice is plainly voluntary, but the two are not coextensive, voluntary being the more comprehensive term; for first, children and all other animals share in voluntary action, but not in moral choice. *Ethics*, III, 2. 113 b.

¹⁴³ ור"ל בבחירה שהיה סבת המתחדש ההוא בחירת אדם עד שאפילו
היתה הסבה רצון אחד כמשאר בעלי חיים, *Moreh*, II, ch. 48. Notice the
distinction between בחירת אדם and רצון בעלי חיים.

¹⁴⁴ Code, Div. 1, Teshubah (Penitence), ch. 5, 4; *Guide*, III, 8.

recognizes the inclination in man to do evil, and therefore assumes freedom as a standard of actions; the more the struggle, the higher the worth of the ethical action. Since free will was instituted in man by the will of God, it may on special occasion be taken away from man, such as we find in the case of Pharaoh.¹⁴⁵ This case is well known to all theological philosophers, Christian as well as Jewish.¹⁴⁶ Of course, such a possible limitation will not be pleasing to the upholder of absolute free will.

In regard to the Divine knowledge, Maimonides, after polemizing against some of the philosophers who wanted to limit it, asserts that God is omniscient and nothing is hidden from Him.¹⁴⁷ In this connexion, Maimonides remarks that great philosophers of the pre-Aristotelian period accepted the doctrine of omniscience. He refers to the book *De Regimine*, by Alexander of Aphrodisias, where their opinions are quoted. The only one to whose opinion we find a distinct reference is Socrates. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* he is quoted as preaching that the gods know all things, what is said, what is done, and what is meditated in silence.¹⁴⁸ Maimonides further asserts that this knowledge is eternal. The problem then appears in full vigour, How are we to reconcile the freedom of man with this prescience? The answer to this problem Maimonides finds in his Theory of Attributes (cp. above).¹⁴⁹ Maimonides conceives the Divine attributes in a negative way, and says that when applying the same attributes to God and man, we use them in an absolute homonymous

¹⁴⁵ Chapters of Maimonides, ch. 8, ref. to Exod. 7. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Origen, *De Principiis*, III, 1, grapples with this problem.

¹⁴⁷ *Guide*, III, 16.

¹⁴⁸ *Memorabilia*, I, 1. 19.

¹⁴⁹ Chapter 2.

way. This theory contends that it is absolutely impossible for the human mind to grasp the meaning of the attributes applied to God. Since the attribute of prescience forms no exception, the difficulty is solved. The problem arises only when we conceive knowledge in the human sense. With man, knowledge is correlative with fact. Applying the same conception by analogy to that of God, it follows that God's prescience ought to agree with the fact, otherwise it contradicts itself. But since we do away with that analogy and assert that His knowledge is different in kind, the difficulty disappears. God knows things beforehand, yet the possible still remains.¹⁵⁰ This teaching is not merely a concession of ignorance, but, as mentioned, grounded in the theory of attributes. God's knowledge is not a separate thing from His essence but connected with it, and just as the essence, it is unknown. In the act of human knowledge we distinguish the ידע ידוע מרע, the knower, the known, and the knowledge itself, but with God He is all three in one.¹⁵¹

As for the question of Providence, Maimonides treats it in detail. He quotes four different opinions, and then adds his. The first is the Epicurean, denying Providence entirely. The second is the Aristotelian, in the garb of Alexander of Aphrodisias,¹⁵² namely, that Divine providence ceases at the sublunar world. But as Providence, even in regard to the spheres, consists mainly in their preserva-

¹⁵⁰ *Guide*, III, ch. 20.

¹⁵¹ Chapters 1-8. A similar use of the homonymous theory is made by Spinoza, *Cogitata Metaph.*, VI, 9. It is interesting to compare with the last Fischer's note 24 in his *Anhang* to Spinoza.

¹⁵² As for Aristotle himself, it is doubtful whether he ever expressed any opinion on the subject. See Jules Le Simon in his *Étude de la Théodicée de Platon et Aristote*, p. 100 f.

tion, it filtrates also to a certain degree to the 'sublunar world, in so far as the genera are endowed with perpetual preservation. The third is that of the Ash'aria—extremists on the orthodox side of the Kalamitic movement—assuming perfect subjection of the universe and its beings to the Divine will, denying chance and choice. The fourth is that of the Mutazilites, positing freedom, and Divine justice and Providence at the same time. They went so far in their conception of justice, according to Maimonides, that they extended reward even to animals for their being killed.¹⁵³ The fifth is his own, which according to him agrees with the Jewish tradition. Divine providence extends in the sublunar world to the human species only. The other beings are subjected to chance or natural law. However, he admits that the genera of other beings have a kind of providence in so far as the natural law originates from God.¹⁵⁴ As it is evident, the Maimonidian theory differs from the so-called Aristotelian only in attributing Providence to the human species. The reason for the exception is found in the possession by the human genus of the mind, which is a means of conveyance for Divine emanation. It follows, therefore, as we noticed in Ibn Daud, that the one who is more intellectually perfect should receive more attention from Providence.¹⁵⁵

Note.—Objections to this last assertion have been raised by many religious thinkers, and with justice. Among the thinkers is also the Karaite Aaron Ben Elijah in *Eṣ Ḥayim*.

¹⁵³ והוא שאני אאמין שההשגחה האלהית אמנם היא בזה העולם התחתון
ר"ל מתחת גלגל הירח באישי מין האדם לבד *Morch*, ch. 17.

¹⁵⁴ *Guide*, III, ch. 17. For a certain inadequateness in his exposition of the Mutazilistic teaching see Stein, *Die Willensfreiheit*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁵ *Guide*, III, 17, 18.

The chief critic, however, is Crescas himself. This question will be discussed in detail. I have also omitted for the present the Maimonidian theory of origin of evil, as well as some philosophic arguments for the denial of prescience and Providence quoted by Maimonides. These are discussed at length by Crescas, and should be taken in connexion with his own solutions as they form a part of his theory.

CRESCAS ON PRESCIENCE.

Crescas, as a foundation to his discourse on the subject, posits three principles, which, according to him, agree with and are necessitated by tradition. These are (*a*) the infinite science of God, (*b*) His prescience, (*c*) that His foreknowledge of the possible event does not change the nature of it. He proceeds then to analyse the philosophical doubts that arise in connexion with such conceptions, and, as usual, reproduces them first. First, if God knows the events happening in this world, it follows that God is being perfected by this knowledge, for it has been established that knowledge is a kind of perfection; but such conclusion is absurd, for how can the absolute Perfect be perfected through the knowledge of inferior things? Second, since it is known that the mind in conceiving things becomes identified with the concepts and assimilates them to its essence, it follows that there will result a multiplicity in God's essence, for the things are many. The third and fourth arguments attack God's assumed knowledge of particulars. There were two current philosophical opinions in regard to the Aristotelian conception of the matter. The first denied entirely God's knowledge of anything external to Himself. (This seems to be the right one,

cf. above, Introduction, IV.) The other, following Alexander, admitted the knowledge of universals.¹⁵⁶ Particular things can be conceived only through their matter and passive intellect, but God has no matter; it follows that He cannot conceive the particular things.¹⁵⁷ Again, particulars are temporal, and whatever relates to time is an accident of motion; but God is above motion and time, He therefore does not know of the particulars. Finally, the positing of Divine science of the world's affairs is untenable, as the disorder in the natural sphere and the existence of evil in human affairs testify.¹⁵⁸

These are the objections to the general principle of positing God's knowledge of the world's affairs. There are several objections especially to several of the specific principles, namely, the infinite science of God and His prescience. How, asks the opponent, can God's knowledge be infinite? Is not knowledge a comprehensive and determining thing? How, then, can the infinite be comprehended or determined? There is then a contradiction in terms. Again, prescience seems to be impossible. Real knowledge of a thing implies that the object known exists, for in what consists

¹⁵⁶ Gersonides, *Milhamot*, III, 1, p. 120.

¹⁵⁷ All these objections are also found arranged in a similar order in Gersonides, *Milhamot*, III, 2. However, we notice in Crescas a more logical arrangement. It is not necessary that he borrowed them directly from Gersonides, though the contents and form are similar. These objections were current in the thought of the age. Some of them are also mentioned by Maimonides. In the third objection there is a digression by Crescas which deserves some notice. It is the first with Gersonides. He says that the particular is conceived through the hylean power such as sense and imagination. Crescas substitutes matter instead of sense. That would agree with the Aristotelian conception of individuality which consists in matter, for it is this that gives the uniqueness since form is general to genus. *Metaph.*, XII, 8.

¹⁵⁸ *Or Adonai*, p. 292.

the truthfulness of a conception of things if not in the fact that the mental conception of a thing agrees with the object existing outside of the mind?¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, if we grant that God does know things before their occurrence, a change in His knowledge is necessitated. Before they occur He knows them as future happenings, after that as past. And since the mind essence changes with the concepts, there will then be a change in His essence, but this is impossible. The assumption that the existence of possible future events is compatible with the prescience of God is also assailed. If we posit that God knows before the realization of one of the two possible aspects of a future event, and at the same time we assert that the opposite aspect is possible of occurrence; then while in His prescience the opposite is still conceived as possible, after the action occurs the possibility is removed and a change in the Divine knowledge necessarily effected. Moreover, the assumption that God knows whichever aspect is going to occur proves to be untenable, for with a possible event, in as far as it is possible, either side may be assumed. Suppose, then, that we assume the opposite side of that of which God is prescient, existing, if so absurdities would result, (a) a change in His knowledge, (b) a falsity in it. If that cannot be the case, the possible is done away with and God's prescience involves the necessity of human actions.¹⁶⁰

After reproducing at length all the objections, which, as remarked, are identical with those quoted by Gersonides in his book *Millhamot* (The Battles of the Lord), Crescas quotes also the Gersonidian solution, though not mentioning

¹⁵⁹ Cp. Locke's definition of knowledge in *Essay on Human Understanding*, Bk. 4, ch. 1.

¹⁶⁰ *Or Adonai*, Tr. II, p. 29a.

him by name. The objection may be answered in the following manner: The first which involves the question of God's perfection disappears when we consider that the existence of other beings arises through God's existence, and also conceived through His own conceptions. His knowing other beings would not mean then an additional perfection, for He knows them through the general order of things (סדר הכולל), the principle of which is in Himself.¹⁶¹ The second, raising the objection of multiplicity, is solved by the same conception. Since God knows the general order which emanates from Himself, and this order unites all the different things (for though things are different in certain respects they are also connected in a certain aspect and perfect each other), He then knows the particulars from their side of unity. In the same manner the third doubt is refuted. It is founded on the principle that in order to know the particulars God must possess hylic powers, but though we grant the validity of the principle it does not follow that God should not know the particular things through their general conceived order wherein their unity is manifested. The doctrine of the inherence of things in the general order also meets the fourth objection, basing itself on the fact that particulars are in time, while God is above time, for God's conception of the general order does not depend upon time. The fifth, the question of evil, is deferred for future discussion. Again, the other doubts, named by Crescas partial, are also met. The difficulty of knowledge being infinite (cp. above), it is done away with by removing the infinite. Things are infinite in their differentiation but not in their unity.¹⁶² The

¹⁶¹ *Millhamot*, III, 4; *Or Adonai*, p. 29 b.

¹⁶² The words in the text, both in Gersonides and Crescas, are סדר מושכל,

general order preconceived by God is finite. In the same way the two objections raised against prescience (cp. above) are righted. Since God knows things through their general order which emanates directly from Him, the things are already existing, and surely there is no change in the knowledge itself. If God knew the particulars in as far as they are particulars, that is from the point of their differentiation, that change would be implied, but He knows them from their general order, and this is not changed. Finally, the most difficult question is solved; this is the question of the existence of the possible in spite of prescience. Possible events have two aspects, and may be preordained in one way, and possible in the other. From the aspect of general order of events they are determined, but from the aspect of human choice they are indeterminate. God knows these things only so far as they are possible, but He does not know which side of the possibility will be realized. It is evident, therefore, that when Gersonides speaks of possible things as being determined by the general order, he means that only their possibility is determined but not their realization.¹⁶³

Crescas, in resuming the foregoing discussion, points out that the reasoning of those philosophers—still not mentioning any name—compel us to posit two principles: (1) God knows the particulars only through their general order; (2) God knows only that certain things are possible, but not the manner of their realization. From these two conceptions there follows necessarily a third one. God does not know of the happenings of one of the possible

which means literally conceived arrangement, i.e. division into genera. But the concept of genus implies always the notion of unity.

¹⁶³ *Milhamot*, III, 4; *Or Adonai*, pp. 29 b-30 a.

sides, even *a posteriori*.¹⁶⁴ Were He to know of the fact, a change in His knowledge would be implied. Before the occurrence of the event He knew of it only as a possible, and after it as actual. Crescas sees in such an assumption a shrinkage of God's science, a dangerous doctrine, and sets out in his acute manner to refute it. These philosophers, he says, have not solved the doubts at all. In spite of their insisting on unity by positing that God knows things through the unified aspect, namely, the general order, these philosophers, according to Crescas, have not succeeded in removing multiplicity. True knowledge consists in knowing things through all their causes, mediate or immediate. Knowledge of composed things then would be perfect only when the elements of which they are composed would be conceived by the knower, for the elements are causes of things, but the elements are many, there follows then that the knower must conceive the manifold. Again, even if we grant that existing things form a kind of unified order of perfection, this will be true only of the broadest genera, such as the division of the kingdoms, e.g. the vegetative, animal, &c., but considering the narrower genera or the species, we find that one does not perfect the other, e.g. the horse has no relation of perfection to the donkey. If we posit, then, of God a knowledge of genera, He cannot escape conceiving multiplicity. Thirdly, even if we assume that God's knowledge is limited to the spheres and intelligibles, the difficulty is not solved, for though they present a certain unity they also exhibit differentiation; the knowledge of the differentiating aspect would then

¹⁶⁴ ויתחייב להם ענין ג' וזה שאחר שיגיע החלק האחר מחלקי האפשר
 אין לו ידיעה בו, *Or Adonai*, p. 30 a.

imply multiplicity.¹⁶⁵ Lastly, there is an astrological argument directed chiefly against Gersonides, who attributes great influence to the spheres and constellations. The knowledge of particulars by God arises, according to him, out of the order of the heavenly spheres, which order is due to the various combinations of the constellations. But the combinations may be infinite; for the great circle in the sphere is a quantity, and it is infinitely divisible. It follows, then, that the arrangements can be infinite, and so God's science does not escape multiplicity.

It is evident, then, that the principal object in removing the manifold from Divine knowledge has not been obtained. But there is still a greater error. The followers of the foregoing theory, in their endeavours to put forth an exalted conception of God, have attributed to Him imperfections, namely, finiteness. If, as they say, God does not know the particulars as particulars, it follows, since the number of particular things is infinite, that He possesses ignorance in regard to the infinite, and that the relation of God's knowledge to His ignorance is as the finite to the infinite, for the number of things that He does know is finite. Again, if God does not know beforehand which of the two possible sides of an event will be realized, it appears, since the possible events are incomparably greater than the necessary ones, that God is ignorant of most of the happenings of the world. Lastly, those philosophers, in order to avoid the assumption of the possibility of a change in God's knowledge, asserted that God does not know of the

והג' כשהונחה הידיעה מצד הסדר הכולל בגרמים השמימיים¹⁶⁵ ובשכלים הנפרדים שאישיהם נצחיי באיש והם מתחלפים במין הנה בצד אשר הם מתחלפים במין אינם מתאחדים הידיעה א"כ בהתחלף עצמיהם במין כבר תחייב רבוי ידועים. *Or Adonai*, p. 30b.

result of a possible happening, even as a past occurrence. If this is the case, we must evidently assume that God is ignorant of the greatest part of human history, for in the long row of centuries thousands of possible actions, events, and occurrences were realized, and all these things escaped His knowledge ; such an assertion is certainly absurd.¹⁶⁶

To meet all these doubts and objections, Maimonides put up his theory of the homonymity of the Divine attributes. (See above in the exposition of the Maimonidian theory.) This theory was severely attacked by Gersonides. He argues that it is impossible to speak of absolute homonymity in regard to Divine attributes. In attributing to God certain qualities, and speaking of them as belonging to Him, we inevitably borrow human conceptions. The case in question furnishes an example. We conceive knowledge as a perfection, we attribute it also to God. But in this case no absolute homonymy is possible, for when one attribute is predicated of two things, it is impossible to be used in an homonymous way, as it does not then convey the same idea. Again, when we negate certain attributes in regard to God, we do not negate them in an homonymous way. When we say, God is not movable, we do not mean that His not being moved and the not being moved of a certain thing are absolutely homonymous, for in this case the idea that we wish to convey is not at all proved. He may be moved, and yet the movement has no association with what we call being moved. Still we go on negating. Again, if all attributes are employed in an homonymous way, why shall we not say, God is a body, conceiving it in an absolute homonymous way with no relation to what we call body? Gersonides, therefore,

¹⁶⁶ *Or Adonai*, p. 31 a.

assumes that all attributes and knowledge included are said to differ in their application to God and man only in degree, but not in kind. The Maimonidian solution of the problem of prescience and the possible falls then, the foundation being undermined.¹⁶⁷

Against the assailment of Gersonides, Crescas steps forth as a defender of Maimonides. Knowledge attributed to God and man must be in an absolute homonymous way. It cannot be said that it differs only in degree, for the content of any attribute predicated of things and differing in degree, is the same, no matter how widely the degrees it may connote in various applications may differ, as, for instance, the content of existence, which is predicated of substance as well as of other things.¹⁶⁸ The contents in both predications are the same, namely being, but the degrees are various; substance exists through itself, while the other things exist through the substance. But in speaking of the knowledge of God, since His knowledge is a kind of essential thing, and His essence is different from ours in kind, it follows that the same will be said of His knowledge. It is true that negatively, when conceiving the attributes under a negative aspect, namely knowledge, denoting not ignorant, existent, not non-existent, the contents are one when employed of God and man. But when applying these attributes in a positive way, we must admit that the application is homonymous. It is evident from the exposition, and more so on reading the original, that Crescas finds himself in his defence in a rather difficult position.

¹⁶⁷ *Milhamot*, III, 3.

¹⁶⁸ The word in the text is *מאמרות*, which means literally Categories, but to one who is not acquainted with the Aristotelian conception of Categories the word here would be confusing.

He apparently contradicts himself in defending Maimonides, and in assuming the homonymy theory he changes his own attitude which he expressed in his first section,¹⁶⁹ where he distinctly states that existence, when applied to God and man, is not used absolutely homonymously, but in a kind of non-essential likeness,¹⁷⁰ and he speaks definitely of a difference in degree. However, the contradiction is removed by his insisting on the distinction between a negative proposition and a positive, and claiming that while the negative content may have a likeness, the positive which we are going to assume may differ absolutely. Still, Crescas admits that it is only defensive, but he himself probably holds a different view. Towards the end of the argument he remarks: 'Be it whichever way, whether following the master (Maimonides) that knowledge is applied homonymously or that there is only a difference of degree as we say, and denotes an essential attribute as we showed in the third section of the first tractate, it remains for us to solve the question in a different way.'¹⁷¹

Crescas then proceeds to state his own view. The real and special distinction between the knowledge of God and ours is that His knowledge is active and causal, and ours derivative. Through His knowledge and true plan of His will, the known existing things have acquired their existence. Our knowledge is derived from the existing

¹⁶⁹ See *Or Adonai*, I, sect. iii, p. 22 a, and *supra*, ch. II, 2.

¹⁷⁰ The Hebrew word is ספוק, which is to be translated by the whole phrase; cp. Maimonides, מלות ההניין, p. 43

¹⁷¹ ואיך שיהיה משם הידיעה אם שיהיה בשתוף גמור בדרך הרב אם שיאמר בקדימה ואיחור ויורה על תואר עצמותו כמו שנראה אנחנו למה שהידיעה תהיה לעצמותו כמו שקדם לנו בכלל הג' מהמאמר הא' וכבר נשאר עלינו שנאמר בהתר הספקות בדרך מיוחד מה שיספיק בו כמו שיערנו, *Or Adonai*, p. 32 b.

things by means of the senses and imagination.¹⁷² This fundamental difference will remove all objections. First, in regard to God it cannot be said that knowledge of external things adds perfection, for it is this knowledge that causes the existence of other things. It is evident, therefore, that the things themselves cannot add anything to their cause since they are dependent upon it. The difference between Crescas's point of view and that of Gersonides must be made clear at the outset, as the solution of the first objection by Gersonides seems to be similar in language.¹⁷³ Gersonides also speaks of the fact that the existence of other things is dependent upon the existence of God, and that God's conception of other things is derived through the conception of His self. The difference consists in this, that Gersonides left out the voluntary element; the God of Gersonides, as well as of some others of the Peripatetic followers, was to a certain degree an imperfect personality. God, they say, is the cause of existence, but not directly, only through a kind of emanation by means of certain emanative beings which form a channel of causality. He knows the beings by knowing Himself, but He knows them only by means of the general order; the details were left to the other emanated beings. It is this loophole that enabled Crescas to overthrow the whole Gersonidian structure, and show its logical unsoundness (see his argument above). The great failure of the Peripatetic philosophical theologians was that they stopped midway between an absolute personality of God and an

שההפרש המיוחד בין ידיעתו לידיעתנו . . . שמדיעתו וציור רצונו¹⁷²
 קנו הידועים המציאות. וידיעתנו אצולה וקנייה מהידועים באמצעות החוש
 והדמיון, *Or Adonai*, p. 32 b.

¹⁷³ *Milla nol*, III, 2, and exposition above.

absolute impersonality. Spinoza followed the last path, and arrived at his system where God is not only the cause of the world but also the ground; Crescas the first; and both of them succeeded in a certain way. Moreover, several of their conclusions are strikingly similar, for the principle is really one, a certain wholeness, but of this further. Crescas conceives the beings as arising not through emanation, but through the will and plan of God, and as every plan requires preceding knowledge; God's knowledge of things therefore is causal, nay, it is creative. He knows things, not because He knows Himself, but *eo ipso*; it is through His knowledge that they exist. This knowledge and will are not to be construed in any gross form, but, as has been discussed, they are essential attributes. The second objection disappears also, for there is no multiplicity implied on account of the fact that the known things are many and the mind assimilates and identifies itself with the things known. This objection may be true of a derivative mind, but not of God who is the cause of the existence of things, and thus knows them whether one or many.

In this way, God also knows the particulars without using the senses and imagination as a means of conception, for the particular also acquires its existence through His knowledge. The question of time, which is raised by the fourth objection, namely, that particulars are in time, is removed, for even time derives its existence from Him. Besides, Crescas has already shown (above, chapter I) that time is not an accident of motion but a mental concept. The argument from the existence of evil in this world is deferred for a later chapter.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Or *Adonai*, p. 32 b.

Crescas then proceeds to discuss the objections which he terms partial. The question, How can knowledge comprehend an infinite number of things? is answered by maintaining that the objection would be valid if the knowledge were of a finite kind such as the human is, but since it is itself infinite there is no difficulty. The contention that God's knowledge may be infinite is strictly connected with the possibility of the existence of an infinite number of effects, and this is maintained by Crescas (cp. above, chapter I of this work). The second argument insisting that foreknowledge of a thing implies already the existence of the thing known, for it is this that constitutes true knowledge, is met by Crescas in the following manner. The assertion, he says, is true of human knowledge which is derivative, but not of God's; His prescience of a thing that it will exist is real and true, for it is that which assures the thing its existence. The other difficulty connected with the question of prescience, the one of change, namely, that there is a change in the status of the thing from being a future happening to a past occurrence, and therefore also a change in the knowledge of it, does not affect the knowledge of God, for He knows beforehand that at a certain time the event will happen. He finally arrives at the most difficult part of the problem, the compatibility of the existence of the possible with God's prescience. How can we call a thing possible when God knows beforehand whichever way it is going to happen? Here Crescas gives us a glimpse of his theory of an apparent or nominal possible. His consistency in refusing to admit any shrinkage in God's prescience forces him to abandon a great part of the freedom of the will. A thing, he says,

may be necessary in one way and possible in another.¹⁷⁵ As an example he cites the knowledge which a man has of certain things that are possible of existence, as most things are. The knowledge that we have of them necessitates their existing, for knowledge is an agreement of the mental ideas with the things existing. Yet this knowledge does not change their nature of being possible of existence. In a similar way, the knowledge of God knowing the way which man will elect does not change the nature of the possibility. It must be admitted that the example is not happily chosen, for human knowledge of things is *a posteriori*, the possibility of the existence is already a past thing, while the knowledge of God which we speak of is *a priori*, and the possibility is still existing. In addition, human knowledge is not causal, while that of God is, and His prescience must affect the future occurrence, unless we assume with Saadia that God's knowledge is not the cause of things; but Crescas really argued the contrary. However, the question is taken up again in connexion with freedom of the will, and he solves it quite dexterously.

It is a mooted question whether Spinoza's reputed impersonality of God is so complete as many of his interpreters want to attribute to him.¹⁷⁶ There are others who assert that in spite of some passages which lend themselves to such an interpretation, the God of Spinoza is not entirely robbed of consciousness.¹⁷⁷ The question what Spinoza meant by God's knowledge or intellect is dependent on the previous conception. The language is confusing, and

והנה יתבאר לה במה שאומר אין ספק שהיות הדבר מחויב בצד מה ¹⁷⁵ לא יחייב חיוב הדבר בעצמותו, Or Adonai, p. 33 a.

¹⁷⁶ Cp. K. Fischer, *Spinoza*, p. 366.

¹⁷⁷ Joel, *Zur Genesis der Lehre Spinozas*, p. 16.

the passages often ambiguous. It seems, however, that a certain discrepancy exists between his earlier remarks on the subject of Divine knowledge in the *Cogitata Metaphysica* and that of the *Ethics*. In the former, his language is more in accord with the philosophico-theological terms. He attributes omniscience to God, and of singulars more than of universals. In his polemics against those that want to exclude singulars from God's science, he reminds us of Maimonides in denying any existence to universals.¹⁷⁸ He further speaks of God being the object of His own thoughts. In the *Ethics*, on the other hand, in the famous scholium to proposition XVII in the first book of *Ethics*, Spinoza remarks, 'that neither intellect nor will appertain to God's nature', yet again, in the same scholium he describes the way he attributes intellect and will to God in quite Maimonidian fashion, insisting on absolute homonymy in applying these attributes to God. Again, in a corollary to proposition XXXII, in the first book, Spinoza says: 'Will and intellect stand in the same relation to the nature of God as do motion and rest and absolutely all natural phenomena.' This last passage shows Spinoza's view of God to be impersonal; yet he goes on to say in the scholium to proposition VII, book II, that 'whatsoever can be perceived by the infinite intellect as constituting the essence of substance belongs altogether to one substance'. What the word 'perceived' means here is difficult to tell. Joel concludes that all that Spinoza means to say in the scholium is that there is no relation between the human

¹⁷⁸ Cp. Maimonides, *Guide*, III, 18, and *Cogitata Metaph.*, pt. II, ch. 7: 'deinde res realiter existentes Deum ignorare statuunt universalium autem, quae non sunt nec ullam habent praeter singularium essentiam, cognitionem Deo affingunt'.

conception of these attributes and their real nature as they exist in God.¹⁷⁹ His conclusion, however, may be unjustified, but the discussion is beyond the range of our work.

What interests us most are two points, which bear a decided resemblance to the theory of Crescas. Spinoza speaks of the intellect of God as the cause of things both in regard to their essence and their existence.¹⁸⁰ Things arise because they exist by representation as such in the intellect of God. It is not clear what Spinoza may mean by 'representation'. To take it literally would mean a too great concession to personality, but whatever it intended to convey, even if we grant that it may connote the necessity of the unfolding of the attribute of thought, the formal side of it is almost identical with the teaching of Crescas, which, as was shown, emphasizes the point that the knowledge of God is the cause of things not only through the general order, but of the essence of all things. Again, Spinoza repeats continually that the intellect and the will of God are identical.¹⁸¹ It is exactly the same teaching that we find in Crescas when he says that 'through His knowledge and representation of His will the things acquired existence'.¹⁸² Such a conception is necessitated when knowledge is conceived as an efficient cause, not merely contemplation as Aristotle conceives the Divine thought to be. It is true that there may be a difference of contents in these two conceptions, that of Crescas having a voluntaristic ring, while that of Spinoza

¹⁷⁹ *Zur Genesis der Lehre Spinozas*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁰ *Ethics*, Bk. I, Prop. 17, scholium.

¹⁸¹ *Ethics*, Prop. 17, scholium, p. 32.

¹⁸² *Or Adonai*, p. 32 b.

a ground of causal necessity, but still the kinship of the teachings cannot be denied. It is not definitely known whom Spinoza had in mind when he makes the statement in connexion with the intellect of God in the foregoing passage, 'This seems to have been recognized by those who have asserted that God's intellect, God's will, and God's power are one and the same'; but that in Crescas this idea is expressed clearly is evident. However, we shall return to this subject later in the discussion on will and creation.

I wish, nevertheless, to say a few words concerning K. Fischer's stand on the subject. Spinoza, in scholium to proposition VII, book II of his *Ethics*, in discussing the unity of thinking and extended substance, remarks: 'This truth seems to have been dimly recognized by those Jews who maintained that God, God's intellect, and the things understood by God are identical'. Fischer, in quoting this passage,¹⁸³ does not attach much importance to any influence which it may possibly indicate, but in note 34 in his *Anhang* he says: 'Derartige Vorahnungen einer Identitätsphilosophie finden sich nicht wie man gemeint hat bei Maimonides, sondern bei Ibn Esra, so in dessen berühmtem Satz (Exod. 24), *כי הוא לבדו יודע ורעה* (He alone is knower, knowledge, and known)'. Why Fischer should see in this dictum the foreshadowing of the Spinozistic identity of substances is difficult to see, as well as his discovery of it in Ibn Ezra alone. This identical dictum is quoted also by Maimonides in the eighth chapter of his treatise known as 'The Eight Chapters', where he says: 'It has been explained that He, blessed be His name, is His attributes, and His attributes are He, so that it is said of Him that He is the knowledge, the knower, and the

¹⁸³ Spinoza, p. 273.

known; He is life, living, and the cause of His own life'. It was also quoted quite often by the Arabic philosophers. This dictum does not contain any other idea than the Aristotelian conception that God is the object of His own thought, and it is quoted by Maimonides in this sense to show the difference between God's knowledge and that of man, which is something separate from the subject, the knower. The later commentators of Aristotle interpreted Aristotle to mean that God in thinking of His own subject conceives ideas which are realized in the world as general principles, and so He knows the universals. It is in this sense that it was used by Ibn Ezra, following the Arabic philosophers who maintained that God's science is only limited to general order, but no foreshadowing of Spinoza can be seen in that dictum. If any claim to foreshadowing is admitted on that basis alone, Maimonides surely cannot be excluded from being a forerunner of Spinoza, as has been shown. That the origin of the dictum is to be found in the Aristotelian conception of God's thinking quoted in *Metaphysics*, XII, 7 and 9, has been pointed out by L. Stein.¹⁸⁴ Vestiges of a Spinozistic identity conception can be found only in Crescas, but of that later.

¹⁸⁴ *Willensfreiheit*, pp. 70, 116.

(To be continued.)

PALESTINE FROM MANY POINTS OF VIEW

A ROUND dozen of books on Palestine lies before us, by scientists, artists, journalists, students of Holy Writ, tourists, and pilgrims. Each of the twelve authors approaches the subject from his individual point of view, sometimes under the dominance of an absorbing theory. Nevertheless, underlying the varieties of personal equation, there is a unifying *motif*. The land exercises its spell upon all alike, be he impersonal compiler or devout religionist, creative poet or superficial observer, or an objective, single-minded investigator. Not all yield to the enchantment willingly. Eventually, before their message is completely uttered, they surrender. The land and its history are unique—that is the inescapable conclusion they all come to. And that is why Palestine is an inexhaustible topic on which libraries are written, though libraries already exist. Because there is a unifying *motif*, an infinite number of variations can be evoked from the subject.

Palestine and Its Transformation. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, Assistant Professor of Geography in Yale University. With Illustrations. Boston and New York. HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, 1911. pp. xvii, 443.

Die Landesnatur Palästinas. Erster Teil; Zweiter Teil. Von Dr. VALENTIN SCHWÖBEL, Pfarrer in Mannheim. Leipzig: J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG, 1914. pp. 56, 52. Series: Das Land der Bibel. Gemeinverständliche Hefte zur Palästinakunde. Band I, Hefte 1, 3.

Die Blumen des heiligen Landes. Botanische Auslese einer Frühlingsfahrt durch Syrien und Palästina. Erster Teil; Zweiter Teil. Von Dr. S. KILLERMANN, Hochschulprofessor in Regensburg. Mit 6 Abbildungen; 4 Abbildungen.

Leipzig: J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG, 1915
pp. 44, 35. Series: Das Land der Bibel. Gemeinver-
ständliche Hefte zur Palästinakunde. Band I, Hefte 5, 6.

The keynote of Mr. Ellsworth Huntington's book, *Palestine and Its Transformation*, is contained in the words 'pulsating climatic changes'. They express the thesis he sets out to prove. Apparently the theory they convey prompted the writing of the book. It is a theory acquired legitimately by the author through personal investigations in extended regions in Asia and Africa, and his personal investigations in the Holy Land are adduced as corroborating and supporting evidence of its truth. Palestine, with its long history, is used as a specific illustration of the author's views on the interrelation between climate and civilization.

Whatever scientists may think of Mr. Huntington's theory of 'pulsating climatic changes',—and there are many well-informed scholars who oppose it vigorously,—to the general reader the book produced under the spell of a compelling, inclusive idea has the interest of a novel. In one passage, Mr. Huntington asserts that 'the question of changes of climate touches many phases of life. It is of direct concern to the geologist, geographer, anthropologist, archaeologist, historian, economist, and pathologist. Indirectly it is intimately related to a dozen other fields of study'. The statement does no more than justice to his book and himself. He has drawn into the purview of his subject the psychologist and student of human nature. His faith in the value of human geography, the science of the influence of environment on man and his history, economic and spiritual, 'the taste the earth imparts to the human plant', is absolute and minute. 'A mere difference in the angle at which the limestone rocks happen to lie seems a slight matter. Yet to it is due in large measure the fact that Samaria was a kingdom apart from Judah, and that Gilead was the country through which Christ was passing on his way to Jerusalem when he blessed the children. Unreasonable as it may seem, the same type of geological structure caused the Samaritans of the time of Christ to be despised by the Jews and caused the people of Gilead to be staunch upholders of

Judaism . . . ' (p. 28). Details of this character are set forth throughout. Samson and David, for instance, their sentiments, their faults, their strength, their exploits, are related directly to the geographical situation and to the physical conformation of the Shephelah (pp. 70-73). Incidentally these pages should be read as an illustration of the author's attractive, vigorous style, as the chapter on Samaria, called 'A Contrast of Physical Form', dealing in part with the same close relation between environment and human character and action, should be read for a typical illustration of his method.

We have not yet gone beyond the subordinate theme of the book. Its main contention is implied in the contrast between the evidences of one-time populousness, to be seen in the remains of large towns, and the present waterless, arid stretches devoid of humus from which crops for only limited numbers can be coaxed. 'Something clearly has changed. Has it been the type of inhabitant? Is the present state of the country worse than that of the past, because the idle Arab has displaced the industrious Jew, and the vacillating Turk the strong Roman? Has the substitution of misrule and oppression for a just, firm government caused the physical deterioration of the country? Or has nature herself suffered a change which has brought in its train depopulation, and all the miseries of the present unsettled conditions?' (p. 40).

The book answers the last question affirmatively, and attempts to justify the reply with an overwhelming wealth of detail. Testimony is derived from architecture, archaeology, and conversations with the nomad Beduin, the Fellaheen, and the missionary of to-day; from traffic or the absence of traffic; from warfare and raids (the latter are described (p. 348) with a vividness testifying at once to the author's literary ability and the physical alertness that invited personal experiences, thrilling, dramatic, and instructive); from deforestation viewed as cause and effect; from the cosmic changes recorded by geologic science; and from the sweep of history during the long, though naturally less than cosmic, period since 3000 B.C. Again and again the

point is pressed that people never 'practise nomadism if they live in a country where agriculture yields a secure livelihood'; that there is no 'temptation to raid and plunder' when food is abundant; that the 'movements due to desiccation' might have been resisted for a time by a strong power, 'but the drain on its resources would be so enormous that no government could long endure it'. In a word, for Mr. Huntington all the sign-posts of deterioration point to one origin: 'pulsating changes of climate', causing the ups and downs of human fortunes within historical times. They alone explain why Palestine is now not a land flowing with milk and honey. The author ingratiates himself with the faithful by his endorsement of the verbal veracity of Holy Writ, while dashing to the ground the hopes of the modern conqueror and settler. He points out the twofold importance of the question of climatic changes in Palestine: its vital bearing on Bible history and interpretation, and as offering the opportunity for a specimen discussion of the climatic interpretation of the history of the whole ancient world. These are Mr. Huntington's wide-open gates to the vast realm of conjecture. None can rise from a reading of 'Palestine and Its Transformation' without paying a tribute to its seductive charm, its stimulating references to history as well as present conditions, and its comprehensive consideration of all factors, economic and spiritual, which industry, open-eyed observation, and scientific acumen coupled with literary skill can bring within the field of vision. That the author is a single-minded investigator cannot be doubted; whether he is an objective scientist must be left to the judgement of those whose realms of knowledge he invades.

Pastor Schwöbel for one appears to question Mr. Huntington's objectivity. He refers to him twice in his 'Landesnatur Palästinas', only to dissent from his theories, once in connexion with a point of rather fundamental methodic importance in the 'transformation' of Palestine: 'Whether disjointed Samaria is separated from the Judæan mass by a fault at some obscure place, no one knows, though Huntington operates with it boldly

as a fact'. Schwöbel himself is proof against the siren voices of speculation, yet he yields to none in his insistence that Palestine must be looked upon by all who deal with it as the land of the prophets and the apostles, and that environment makes man; that, as he puts it, 'every plant tastes of the earth in which it grows, in which by the will of God it was made to grow, and it does not like every sort of soil'. He sticks manfully to admitted facts, and presents them with extraordinary detachment. Accordingly the seven chapters into which his little book is divided give the reader a trustworthy and compact recapitulation of the findings of modern science on the physiography of the Holy Land, its geology and climate, the geographic forms and the hydrographic and orographic conditions prevailing there. It relies largely on the geologic map of Blanckenhorn, but pays due attention to the investigations of the Palestine Exploration Fund, of the Deutscher Palästina-Verein, and of individual scholars and travellers. Their results are welded into a concise yet comprehensive statement. Objective as the book is, and though it purports to be only a summing up of modern research, it is shot through with warmth, issuing partly from the author's deep religious devotion, partly from the fact that he knows his Palestine eye to eye through his several visits to the land. In spite of himself, he betrays here and there his yielding to its mystical charms. At the other end of the spiritual scale, the book does not lack incidental references to present-day life and to the historic life of which it was the scene. There are illuminating comparisons between Palestinian and German geographic conditions. On the subject of the present fruitfulness and healthfulness of the land, the author occupies a moderate position. He attributes the prevailing diseases to neglect, and repudiates the theory of recent climatic changes as the causes of its impoverishment. He cautions the observer particularly against passing an amateurish judgement on the possibilities of the land, especially of the hills that appear bare to the layman's eye. The book is a *résumé* of modern scholarship by one who is himself a scholar, and a lover of the land to boot.

Doctor Killermann's book may be described as a floral itinerary of the Holy Land, with the addition of the Lebanon region, Damascus, and the Hauran. Even as an itinerary it is not complete. There is hardly a mention of the central strip from north to south, and the account of Galilee is inadequate in relation to the size of the frame adopted. As a contribution to the botany of the Holy Land it makes and has no pretensions to either scientific system or popular completeness. From the point of view of the tourist, it may have claims upon his grateful attention by reason of its availability without exacting the toll of previous knowledge. Occasionally apt references are made to the Bible text in identifying one or another plant, and everywhere the author's presentation has the vividness of the personal impression. But even in a popular book the reader craves insight into the peculiarities of the flora of a land that possesses European, Asiatic, and African characteristics; that produces simultaneously wine, a temperate zone product, and the date-palm, a sub-tropical plant. The digressions from the field of botany into that of economic agriculture are tantalizingly superficial, and one need not be either a Jew or a militarist to find the closing sentences arrogantly conceited: 'Once Palestine was really the Promised Land, "a land of wheat and barley, and vines and figs and pomegranates" (Deut. 8. 8). If Christianity might once more strike deeper root there, and in particular if from out of the clash of nations the German element might assert itself effectively as a leaven, a new era of blessing and fruitfulness might break for the Holy Land. That must be the conclusion reached by many a pilgrim as he takes his departure from the beautiful, flower-strewn, and venerable *terra sancta*'.

The Students' Illustrated Historical Geography of the Holy Land.

By the Rev. WILLIAM WALTER SMITH, A.B., A.M., M.D.
Illustrated with One Hundred Half-tone Pictures of Bible
Places and Thirty-five Maps. Philadelphia: THE SUNDAY
SCHOOL TIMES COMPANY. 1912. pp. 65, 43.

Palestine in Geography and in History. By ARTHUR WILLIAM COOKE, M.A. With Topographical Index and Maps. 2 vols. London: CHARLES H. KELLY. 1901. pp. xii, 196; xii, 254.

Sites délaissés d'Orient (Du Sinâï à Jérusalem). Ouvrage illustré de 47 Gravures tirées hors texte et d'une Carte en noir. Deuxième édition. Paris. LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET CIE. 1913. pp. xx, 188.

The Story of Jerusalem. By COLONEL SIR C. M. WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A. &c. Illustrated by Geneviève Watson. Mediaeval Towns Series. London. J. M. DENT & SONS, Ltd. New York, E. P. DUTTON & Co. 1912. pp. xx, 339.

Mr. Smith describes his book on the title-page as 'a popular reading manual and text-book for teachers and clergy'. The latter purpose it serves to an eminent degree, furnished as it is with all the lists, maps, and suggestions that make its packed pages fruitful for instruction whether used by teacher or pupil. The other description, as a 'popular reading manual', will be endorsed only by those whose technical training may predispose them in favour of indexes as reading matter. Except that it is printed in unbroken lines, it is to all intents and purposes an annotated catalogue of Bible places. The stricture here expressed applies only to the title-page announcement. Otherwise the book is indeed, to quote again from the full title-page, 'an illuminating course of lessons for the Sunday School', and for those who aspire to be leaders of Sunday School classes. Students will be particularly grateful for the unfailing Bible references in the text next to each place mentioned; for the list of reference books; for the list of pictures of places and scenery with the sources from which they may be secured; for the questions and the suggestions for manual work attached to each chapter, conceived in the spirit of up-to-date pedagogy; and above all for the numerous maps illustrative of period after period of Jewish and New Testament History. In addition to the History and Geography of the Holy Land Doctor Smith has chapters and maps on the Eastern Empires and the journeys of St. Paul. The only feature that fails to

measure up to the purport of the book as a whole, and to the value of its other parts, is the series of half-tone pictures. They are unattractive in execution, and too small to make an impression on the adult learner, let alone the younger student. On the other hand, commendable insight into the needs and lapses of readers is shown by not only labelling the pictures, but also marking the places illustrated by a reference to the proper pictures in the margin of the text. It is to be regretted that geography has been interpreted on the whole as not including the economic aspects of life, and history as having no concern with any Jews but those of Bible times. At this time the Palestine of to-day is as important secularly as Palestine will always remain spiritually. It is fair to note that in spite of the absence of every literary device, the book is permeated by a reverential spirit. Its accuracy and minuteness are testimony to the author's love for his subject.

Happy he who is privileged to travel in the Holy Land. Doubly happy he who travelling there has his Bible by heart, and knows it in the light of modern research. For the rest of us Mr. Cooke has performed a notable service. His admirably planned, handy volumes, with their clear print, their marginal headings, their indexes, and their nine well-executed maps, facilitate resort to the Bible itself even for the amateur reader of Jewish history. The work is characterized by a fine sense of balance and restraint. Details are never enumerated at such length as to produce perplexity even in the mind of the stay-at-home traveller, who perforce follows his guide only on the maps. When the differences among scholars in the identification of places are cited—it does not occur too often—the controversial matter introduced but serves to afford the reader a glimpse of another interesting land, the boundless domain of Bible research. In drawing liberally (and judiciously) upon the accounts of travellers and critics, particularly upon the reports of the Palestine Exploration Fund and Sir George Adam Smith's indispensable classics, the author has added not a little to the grace and very largely to the value of his work. However, the perfect book of its kind

remains still to be written. It will have to combine Mr. Cooke's wide reading, his interest in Old and New Testament criticism, his gift of simple narrative, his appreciation of the beauty of natural scenery, and his religious sense, with a pervasive knowledge of post-Biblical Jewish history and of Jewish legend, and with an understanding of the economic possibilities of the land which, as it is precious to the followers of three great religions, is a desirable possession to the inhabitants of three continents. In the historical part one misses the poetry of Jewish love of the land, and in the geographical part, the relation to reality. For Mr. Cooke at his best the reader is referred to the chapter on Lake Gennesareth, the region that always evokes the most effective passages from writers on the Holy Land endowed with literary ability and artistic perceptions.

The chapters of the Comte de Kergolay's book on out-of-the-way Oriental sites, apt to be neglected by the ordinary tourist, form five little monographs with an equal appeal to the Orientalist, the archaeologist, the artist, the general student of life and letters, the lover of nature and of mankind, and not least of all the lover of good literature. Each chapter is a complete and well-rounded whole. Some of the pages bear favourable comparison with the descriptions of such masters of the Oriental atmosphere and scenery as Pierre Loti and Hichens. If he falls below them in picturing the tints of rock and sky, and in conveying the witchery of the human East, he is more than their peer in filling his reader's ears with the desert silence, and carrying the desert perfume into his very chamber. The chapter on Petra of the Nabataeans is an epic of silence in nature, as that on St. Catherine, the monastery on Mount Sinai, is of the silence of the quietist. Not even the echoes of the world-war, one is sure, have reverberated in the old corridors through which the recluse Greek monks have been gliding for centuries.

The Comte de Kergolay enjoyed an exceptional opportunity in that he was attached in the spring of 1906 to the annual expedition of the Dominican Fathers of St. Stephen's Biblical

Institute at Jerusalem. The research journey took him from Suez through the Sinai Peninsula into the ancient Moab, and northward to the region east of the Dead Sea, and his book runs the gamut of thirty-five centuries, from the old mines of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty at Magharah to trans-Jordanic France, as it established itself in Kerak of the Crusaders, inaccessible and impregnable. One of the most interesting passages in the book is the paragraph in which the persistence of the Crusaders' French influence in the East is dealt with. The author maintains that the scientific party met numbers of men and women closely resembling French peasants, and heard their children in the schools chanting the Koran to an old French air, like a Breton Christmas carol. For good and for evil humanity is slow to change. The ancient mines are full of utensils, not unlike our own, testifying to the methods and ingenuity of remote days, and the mines are still vocal with the suffering of the miners and their young mine-working children. Have only the Egyptian social workers of that day failed to leave their record in imperishable bronze and stone, and eloquent books of protest?

M. de Kergolay's book abounds with interesting material—the Nabataean, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic inscriptions on the rocks of Sinai; the library of the monastery of Mount Sinai with its palimpsests; the mosaics of its church; the history of Pharon; the regulations of St. Basil; the position of women among the Nabataeans, &c. &c. A word should be said to draw attention to the illustrations, and another to deplore the omission of an index.

The Story of Jerusalem, by Colonel Watson, is an addition to the Mediaeval Town Series in harmony with the standard of excellence and practical value that has attained to the status of a tradition with the Series. The writer of none of the volumes in this Series has an easy task. The storied Middle Ages are lavish of material. It is superfluous to say that Jerusalem, so far from being an exception, demands powers of compression and summarizing beyond the ordinary. The compensating advantage, not shared by all the subjects in the Series to a like degree, is the unity

underlying the variety of experiences with which the writer is called upon to deal. Whatever may have befallen it, the Holy City has been the focus of the Christian's love and hate, and no less of Mohammedan passion. To lay bare its inner spirit, the writer must indeed know the whole of history, but for the purpose in hand he need pursue only one strand. Colonel Watson has performed his task, so far as Christian Jerusalem is concerned, if not with genius, at least with industry and satisfying brevity and selective taste. In respect to the structure of the city, his book achieves notable success. With commendable autocracy he declares in favour of a particular hypothesis regarding the 'two cities', on the two eminences, the dual habitation implied by the dual termination of the early name of the city. He sticks to his choice throughout unwaveringly, without so much as a side-glance at any other theory, and so leaves the reader's mind free from the bewilderment of intricate argumentation. His directness is reinforced by a clear outline-map of Jerusalem (happily so bound into the book that it may be kept spread out as one reads from the first page to the last). The result is a literary visit to ancient, mediaeval, and modern Jerusalem that borrows vividness from reality itself. Whether the hypothesis (p. 22) is correct or not, it is clarifying to work with it. It affords the casual reader a starting-point which he should not fail to keep in mind when he is lucky enough to view the Holy City with his bodily eyes. In connexion with this possible gift of fortune, the last chapter, a walk through the modern city along the supposed lines of the ancient walls, should be borne in mind by the tourist (after the war) as particularly important and interesting.

The author properly, in several introductory chapters, recounts the ancient history of the city. They are practically the only ones that contain any reference to the holiness of the city from the Jewish point of view. Twenty lines are assigned to the rebellion of Bar Kochba, called only Bar Koziba, though fifty-three lines are devoted to the napkin in which the head of Jesus was wrapped, for the purpose of proving Moawiyah's friendliness to the Christian residents of the city and to the churches. There is a reference to Benjamin of Tudela, a quotation from the

Talmud, the passage from Josephus is cited in which mention is made of Jesus, though without a word to indicate the disesteem in which its authenticity is held; the treatment of the Jews by the Crusaders is noted; a tribute of admiration is paid to Simon Maccabee—and that is all. Nowhere is there a sign to proclaim that there are Jewish aspects to the history of Jerusalem—nowhere the admission, explicit or indirect, that if the Holy City is the focus of the Christian's love and hate, and of Mohammedan passion, devotion to it is also of the essence of the Jewish spirit. As was implied above, Colonel Watson has as a matter of fact written the story of Christian Jerusalem. Some degree of neglect has been meted out even to the Mohammedan master. From the Christian point of view he has performed his historic task as satisfactorily as his topographic task. He observes due proportion in the presentation of his wealth of material, and conveys the spirit of mediaevalism without offensive glorification of the section he is most interested in. A word of special commendation is owing to him for the enlightening use of the pilgrims' pious chronicles. The illustrations are effective and pleasing.

Neue Reisebeschreibung nacher Jerusalem vndt dem H. Landte.

Beschrieben vndt im Trukh ausgangen durch LAURENTIUM SLISANSKY. Anno 1662. Mit 14 Abbildungen. Volume 76 in Voigtländers Quellenbücher. Leipzig, n. d. pp. iv, 140.

Slisansky's story of his journey to Jerusalem and the Holy Land is an excellent specimen of the source-books used to good advantage by Colonel Watson in establishing the continuity and modifications of the Church history of Jerusalem. Devout and simple-minded, minute in the description of what he came to see, remarkably accomplished in seeing nothing else, prejudiced against all that is non-Christian, credulous, possessor of a simple, unadorned style, Slisansky has produced a record true to type. The text is compounded of descriptions of the holy places, legendary matter, pilgrims' customs, and the inconvenience attaching to travel in the seventeenth century. His visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is doubtless a valuable contribution to the history

of the church building. The only spice in the even-flowing, garrulous narrative is his denunciation of the Jews, for which no opportunity is allowed to go by. According to Slisansky the Jewish spirit is wholly, without a residue, compounded of hate for Christianity and greed in acquiring and destroying or prostituting the Christian holy places. The illustrations vie with the text in point of quaintness and lack of balance. The editor has done his work of annotating the source-book unobtrusively, but, or therefore, effectively, and the printer, in reproducing the type of the original, has added his contribution to the old-world impression made by Slisansky's narrative. Though unconnected with the main subject, the *privilegium impressorium* granted by Emperor Leopold should be mentioned. It carried copyright protection for three years with it. Is it a reflection upon the veracity of traveller's tales that Slisansky prints besides a duly attested document issued by a Church dignitary, who bears, among others, the title Guardian of the Holy Mount Sion, proclaiming the actuality of his visit to the Holy Land and to the chief of the Christian holy places?

A Journalist in the Holy Land. Glimpses of Egypt and Palestine.

By ARTHUR E. CIPPING. Illustrated by HAROLD CIPPING. New York, Chicago, Toronto. FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY. 1912. pp. xiv, 248.

Bible Ways in Bible Lands. An Impression of Palestine. By

MAUDE M. HOLBACH. With 32 Illustrations from Original Photographs by OTTO HOLBACH. London. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD. 1912. pp. xii, 219.

A Camera Crusade through the Holy Land. By DWIGHT L.

ELMENDORF. One hundred Illustrations from Photographs by the Author. New York. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1912. pp. xiv, 56; plates C.

Das Land das Jedem heilig ist. Miscellen aus einer palästinensischen Reisegesellschaft. Verfasst und herausgegeben von

JOSEF GRÜNBAUM, Oberrabbiner zu Balázsfalva. Budapest, 1912. pp. viii, 147.

The pilgrim spirit has survived the centuries, and not only in the Russian devotee who arouses the admiration of all who have had the enviable opportunity of observing his loving sacrifices for his ideal, a visit to the holy places and the Jordan. Even the modern tourist, of small or great means, and of small or great endowment, manifests it in modified ways. Mr. Copping does not clothe it in words, but it may be read between his sprightly lines.

After he has led his readers in pleasant paths from Haifa southward through the land, and Jerusalem with its battle-grounds of Christian theological opinion has been reached, he tells them that he is 'nowise qualified by any right of personal scholarship or research to take sides on debatable questions of sacred archaeology'. This limitation and the author's recognition thereof make the readableness of his book, and in a sense its value. We have Mr. Copping's genuine reaction to Palestinian scenery and the Palestinian life of to-day, or the yesterday before the war. And it is worth while having Mr. Copping's reaction, for he is a whole-souled and wholesome human being, with much humour, with the modern intelligence expected of a metropolitan journalist, with an adequate knowledge of history, sacred and profane, with broad, quick sympathies, with appreciation of spiritual greatness, suffering, and achievements—all qualities to make him an engaging companion during three weeks of journeying through Egypt and the Holy Land. Bible texts are conspicuous by their absence, but the Bible spirit towards humanity permeates the traveller's tale. It is that spirit which prompts Mr. Copping again and again to remark on the variety of temperament manifested by the Arab villagers with whom he came in contact—one hostile, another dignified, a third inert, a fourth intelligent, a fifth curious and goodhearted; that prompts his warm description of the Russian pilgrim processions he encountered; that prompts his comment on the Jews praying at the Wailing Wall, as 'a scene in a drama that had humanity for its theme and eternity for its scope'. Though his journey was Cook-directed, the record is as spontaneous as though no book of Palestine travels had been written before him. His fresh enthusiasm for Palestinian scenery, undisturbed by any of Mr. Huntington's scientific theories, is justified by his

brother's pictorial contributions to the book. In one instance the illustrations correct his words. Mr. Copping maintains that his Western eyes beheld no East until he reached Alexandria. 'The Mediterranean', he says, 'had been just a sea, exhibiting appearances in common with the Atlantic and other vast areas of water.' The artist brother saw differently and more truly when he sketched 'a view of Smyrna from the Mediterranean'. Taken all in all *A Journalist in the Holy Land* affords a couple of hours of pleasant reading.

The theme of Mrs. Holbach's book, if one can be attributed to it, is the opposite of Mr. Huntington's. From preface to index, her pages insist in explicit words that the East is 'unchanging'. Apparently it does not enter her mind that her formula is likely to be discredited by her experience in Nazareth. She and her husband, the latter the photographer who furnished her book with thirty-two excellent, if not strikingly original illustrations, sought a carpenter's shop, 'such a one as that in which Jesus daily worked throughout His boyhood and early manhood'. They found only one such that had been left 'untouched by the spirit of modernity'. Many of her other recorded 'impressions' are equally evidences of an awakened East. How could one be expected to have her eyes open to facts who winds up her reflections on the report that the modern Jewish colonization of the Holy Land was unsuccessful, with the observation: 'Some will regard the failure of the Jewish colonies in Palestine as the fulfilment of prophecy!' The reviewer desires to add an exclamatory point outside the quotation mark.

The book does more credit to the sentiment, still more to the sentimentality, of the writer than to her common sense and accuracy and imaginative powers. It seems profane to her to make tea on the terrace overlooking the Sea of Galilee, or to set out for Samaria with thermos flasks and a tea-basket hung on the pommels of her donkey, and drink tea out of the flasks in sight of the ruins of Samaria. It is comforting to know that common sense asserted itself sufficiently to make her drink the tea both times. If only it had insisted upon the expunging of these

passages and the several others in which she deplores her succumbing to the attractions of a cup of English tea. The time devoted to tea and such excursions as that on the futility of medical science might instead have been spent profitably on investigating the accuracy of some of her statements of fact, and of the diction of her book. The authoress is chiefly interested in following up the course of New Testament history, and in doing it she frequently with astonishing ease cuts the Gordian knot of the controversies raging about the identification of places. It is rather regrettable on the whole that, in view of her limitations, she did not execute her first intention to 'write a little book' around her husband's pictures.

That is the plan of Mr. Elmendorf's book, *A Camera Crusade through the Holy Land*. In her preface Mrs. Holbach remarks on the inevitableness of Bible language in Bible lands. She draws upon Egypt for the illustration of her general statement. The words of Isaiah, 'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land', force themselves upon her there. Mr. Elmendorf's whole book is an exemplification of Mrs. Holbach's, and of every traveller's experience in this regard. He supplies the illustrations, not alone for 'the shadow of a great rock' (Plate XXXIII) but of ninety-nine other verses, scenes, and events, allotting fairly equal honours to Old and New Testament inspiration. His admirable photographs form an interesting gallery. Each is supplied with a series of text citations establishing its authority in Holy Writ. These text citations would seem to make his fifty-six pages of letter-press superfluous. The latter contain hardly more than Bible quotations strung together on the slenderest thread of a traveller's narrative. Their only excuse is the artist's obvious desire to testify to his faith and to its strengthening through his Holy Land experiences. Everywhere his faith shines through, reaching its culminating expression at Jacob's Well, hallowed for the Christian believer by the meeting of Jesus with the woman of Samaria. 'That curb-stone over Jacob's well', says Mr. Elmendorf, 'was my "Ebenezer"; for there the Lord helped me. There, at that stone, came to me the "Peace of God which passeth all understanding".' More

helpful than the letter-press is the map at the beginning of the book, showing his itinerary by a line much clearer than his 'slender thread of narrative'.

In Rabbiner Grünbaum's book we have a journal of Holy Land travels comparable with Slisansky's chronicle. But worlds, not only centuries, lie between the two. Both are pilgrims in the real sense of the word. Neither has eyes or mind for anything but the 'holy places', genuine and spurious. Both see what they have come to see. The blinkers of preconceived notions shut out all the rest. Both are truly pious and observant. So far Slisansky might have been of the twentieth century; Grünbaum of the seventeenth. But there ceases the resemblance between the devout Moravian Catholic and the devout Hungarian rabbi. Grünbaum cannot attain to the naïveté and spontaneity of Slisansky's narrative. He is full of polemics, reflections, criticisms, longings, digressions, and quotations from Bible, Talmud, and Prayer Book, from encyclopedias and all sorts of modern literature varying from Rostand to Roosevelt. He is a sophisticated Jewish citizen of the modern world, albeit a Hungarian patriot. Occasionally doubts as to his modernity assail the reader, as when he refuses to view an aviation meet in Budapest, because, though he cannot withhold respect from the aviators, being a 'man of the Bible', he believes that 'the heavens are the heavens of the Lord, but the earth hath He given to the children of men'. Fortunately this occurs in the last paragraph of his book. Other test passages are far less obscurantist. He warns the Jewish pilgrim who accepts the need of the Jewish colonization of Palestine, that he must entertain hospitably the idea of finding not only angels, prophets, and psalmists in the Holy Land. It is subject to the many defects observable in other communities.

Grünbaum travelled with a party of sixty-eight—Russians, Englishmen, Austro-Hungarians, and Germans. The names of his companions are recorded in a list attached to his book. They all were bent on the same errand as he, and they were equipped with everything needed to make the observance of the Sabbath and of the ritual law possible on land and sea. Nevertheless

Grünbaum of the twentieth century complains no less than Slisansky of the seventeenth of the inconveniences of a journey to the Holy Land. Ostensibly the purpose of the caravan was not only to visit graves and indulge in memories, but to view the life of the Jews as it is to-day in Palestine. His book proves to the observant reader that the latter object cannot be attained by travelling with a large company that courts official receptions with blare of drum and trumpet. It turns out, in point of fact, that he is interested only in the most superficial way in the new colonization, except to urge tolerance and patience, in the hope that a more religious spirit may be infused into the new Yishub. Grünbaum indeed is a defender of the Halukah system. He advocates the building of houses for recluses and their families, especially for such as come from Siebenbürgen (Transylvania). In externals the book, which is a translation by the author himself from his Hungarian original, has little to recommend it. The style is the involved, archaic German characteristic of certain circles of Jews in Hungary. The proof-reading must have been done by a blind man. The transliteration of Hebrew words and phrases is systemless, and errors disfigure page after page. One illustration must suffice: 'On the right [of the bridge] one sees the little colony built by Moses Montefiore and the institution of the Jewish hero de la Tura (!) of New Orleans'. In the course of these reviews reference has been made at several points to the scant treatment accorded to the Jewish element in the history and life of Palestine. It must be admitted regretfully that the sole and only Jew in our assemblage of writers on Palestine has no less laid himself open to the charge of inadequacy. In his book the subject-matter is wholly Jewish, and he himself is a Jew in every fibre of his being. But the meaning of Palestine for the Jew, to-day and always, can be conveyed, it seems, only by one who is Jew, religionist, and poet besides.

HENRIETTA SZOLD.

New York.

HUSIK'S 'HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL JEWISH PHILOSOPHY'

A History of Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy. By ISAAC HUSIK,
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1916. pp. 1+462, 8vo.

THE need of a handbook of mediaeval Jewish philosophy has been keenly felt among students devoted to the study of this subject and was also generally recognized by their teachers. Somehow or other the Jewish scholars working in this field, who are, indeed, very few in number, harbored an exaggerated opinion as to the real difficulties involved in the preparation of such a work, expecting, as it appears, to have the ground more fully prepared by detailed investigations before a general and complete history was to be undertaken. Dr. Husik, while not unaware of the difficulty of the task, nevertheless set himself to the work, and with a happy sense of proportion and a full understanding of what is essential or unessential in the general economy of such a book, succeeded in presenting to the intelligent reader, Jew or Gentile, a very valuable summary of mediaeval Jewish philosophy. The general reader for whom, in the main, this book is intended, and who so far, owing to the absence of English books on the subject, had little or no knowledge of this aspect of Jewish literary activity, will, by a careful perusal of this work, be put in a position to fully appreciate the contribution of Jewish thinkers to the wide field of mediaeval philosophy. But the professional student, too, who in order to get acquainted with the main philosophic problems and ideas of the middle ages, heretofore had to plod his way through a mass of foreign literature, which often served only to deter him from his proposed work, will find in Dr. Husik's volume a systematic guide and teacher that will enable him at the very beginning of his career

to survey with comparative ease the whole field, growth, and development of mediaeval Jewish philosophy.

In order to produce a handbook of the history of Jewish philosophy, like the one before us, it is of supreme importance that the author keep strictly within the sphere of thoughts of the individual thinkers, whose ideas he is to present. He must permit these thinkers, after having freed their doctrines from all incidental matter, to speak for themselves. Unnecessary interruptions of the original writer's arguments and discussions by the insertion of the author's subjective opinion and disputable theories are bound to produce in the mind of the reader confusion rather than enlightenment. Dr. Husik shows throughout the pages of his work that he was fully conscious of this truth. He anxiously avoids all unnecessary display of learning and needless digressions into neighbouring fields, which do not strictly belong to philosophy. Instead, he follows closely the works of the mediaeval authors, epitomizing their contents with literary skill and, barring some minor points, with scientific accuracy. Occasionally, it is true, he allows himself to interrupt the presentation of the original author's views by inserting some of his observations as to the scientific value of a given doctrine or its logical or historical relation to similar doctrines held by other philosophers, and the like. But in all such cases I found Dr. Husik's remarks, aside from their being of very moderate length, to be highly instructive and a valuable help toward a better understanding of the question at issue.¹

The method of sketching the works of the mediaeval writers, as here described, naturally brought about a number of repetitions. For it is well known that certain doctrines (e.g. that of the celestial spheres and their motion, the Active Intellect, Prophecy, Divine Attributes, Free Will, &c.) had become the stock in trade of all mediaeval philosophers, Jews, Christians,

¹ It would require too much space to give here instances of such insertions. I therefore refer the interested reader to pp. 46-7, 68, 90 f., 119, 138 f., 146 f., 226, 266, 274-8, 300, 366, 395 f. There may be a few others, which escaped my notice.

and Mohammedans alike. In skimming the contents of a book it was not always possible to dismiss the parts bearing upon these doctrines by a mere reference to a previous chapter, where the matter had been dealt with in connexion with the teachings of another philosopher. For in spite of the intrinsic identity of a given doctrine in the works of two different authors, such doctrine often receives a new signification or occupies a different place within the individual systems of the respective authors, hence it must be discussed each time separately. Dr. Husik tried, however, to reduce these repetitions to a minimum, at times merely touching upon the ideas in general terms and referring for details to previous discussions (see e.g. pp. 86, 147, 162, top, 206, 224, and *passim*).

The work is divided into eighteen chapters, each dealing with one of the leading mediaeval Jewish philosophers, beginning with Isaac Israëli in the ninth century and ending with Joseph Albo of the fifteenth century. A few of the Hebrew philosophic writers later than Albo (e. g. Joseph b. Shem Ṭob and his son, Shem Ṭob, Isaac Abrabanel, and others) are treated summarily in a brief 'Conclusion' (pp. 428-32). Each chapter begins with a biographical sketch and a general characterization of the author in question, which will prove of special value to the reader who is not acquainted with the life of the mediaeval Jewish worthies. The whole is preceded by a learned introduction (xiii-1), in which the author traces briefly the early beginnings of rationalistic thought among the Jews, speaks in a general way of the principal motives of Mediaeval Jewish philosophy and its Greco-Arabic sources, classifies the individual philosophers according to their adherence either to the Kalâm, Neo-Platonism, or Aristotelianism, and, finally, sketches preliminarily the essential contents of their philosophy. The style and manner of presentation leave nothing to be desired. The author absolutely masters the philosophic language required for a clear and intelligible presentation of the abstruse problems of mediaeval philosophy, so that the intelligent reader of the book will find no difficulty in trying to understand them.

Owing to its general character the book may appeal also to non-Jewish students of philosophy and hence may enjoy the good fortune to appear at some future time in a new revised edition. I therefore deem it advisable to add here some observations which I made while going through the volume and which will perhaps prove worth considering by the author for such an edition. Before taking up, however, the discussion of the details, I wish to set aright a statement made by the author in his Preface. He there points out that while German and French scholars, particularly the former, have done distinguished work in expounding individual thinkers and problems, 'there is as yet no complete history of the subject for the student or general reader'. Completeness is a relative term. Taken absolutely, Dr. Husik's book is also incomplete, for he does not treat in it of all the problems dealt with by those philosophers to whom his book is devoted, nor does he include therein all the Jewish thinkers of the Middle Ages. In fact the number of philosophers selected by him for special treatment could easily be doubled, though the philosophy of those whom he omitted might not appear to every reader as being of any particular importance for the history of philosophy. Moreover, *philosophy*, too, is a very elastic conception. Men like Nahmanides, Solomon b. Adret, Menahem Meiri, Bahya b. Asher (all of the thirteenth century), and many others, who, of course, are not included in Dr. Husik's book, were no professional philosophers; they were neither Kalâmists nor Neo-Platonists, nor Aristotelians, but they were highly educated theologians with a rounded *Weltanschauung*, who took into account also the best philosophic thought of their predecessors and contemporaries. Their influence on Judaism, not alone in Talmudic lines, was enormous, at any rate much greater than that of many of the real philosophers, and a description of their literary achievements outside of the field of the Halakah would, therefore, have a perfectly legitimate place in a complete history of Jewish philosophy. Now an author may delimit the scope of his work as he sees fit, and one should therefore not criticize Dr. Husik, as did some of his reviewers, for not having included

in his work all the Jewish theological and Kabbalistical writers of the Middle Ages. He has confined himself to the treatment of the most prominent of those Jewish thinkers who stood exclusively under the influence of Greco-Arabic philosophy, and he has done this part well. But if we accept this point of view as correct, we cannot follow him in treating as a negligible quantity several works on the history of Jewish philosophy, published prior to his own in various European languages. Thus M. Eisler's *Vorlesungen über die jüdischen Philosophen des Mittelalters*, three parts, Vienna, 1870-1883 (mentioned by Dr. Husik in the Bibliography only), while written in the form of lectures and omitting some of the philosophers treated by Husik, is in some parts more comprehensive than the work of the latter, Maimonides alone occupying fully 140 pages. Nor can J. Spiegler's *Geschichte der Philosophie des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1890, though scientifically insignificant, be entirely disregarded. Solomon Munk's masterful *Esquisse historique de la philosophie chez les Juifs*, embodied in his *Mélanges*, &c., pp. 461-511, 522-528, exists also in book form in a German translation with additions and amplifications by B. Beer, and in English by I. Kalisch (referred to in the *Bibliography*), and though on the whole too brief and compendious, it still contains the basic elements of a history of Jewish philosophy. Of similar import is P. Bloch's *Geschichte der Entwicklung der Kabbala und der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie*, Berlin, 1894 (reprint of *Die jüdische Religionsphilosophie* in Winter and Wünsche's *Die jüdische Litteratur*, II, 699-794). Overlooked is also the learned work of the Dutch scholar, P. J. Muller, *De Godsleer der middeleeuwse Joden*, Groningen, 1898, which contains a very clear and readable presentation of the Jewish philosophy from Saadia to Maimonides, inclusive, with an elaborate introduction (pp. 4-58) and copious notes (pp. 161-87). Finally, there is to be mentioned the more recent work, *Historia de la Filosofia española*, by Prof. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. According to the outline given by the author in the first volume (Madrid, 1908) the work is to appear in eight volumes, of which the second (Madrid, 1911) is devoted entirely (456 pages) to the history of Jewish philosophy in

Spain, while a considerable part of the third volume is to deal with the history of Jewish mysticism in that country (*Zohar*, &c.). As nearly all Jewish philosophers lived in Spain,² the work represents a fairly complete history of Jewish philosophy. Dr. Husik's book is thus not the first in the field, though it must be admitted that, aside from the fact that it is the first of its kind in the English language, it will also serve the purpose for which it is intended to a much higher degree than any of its predecessors.

It would be overstepping the limits of a review to point out for correction all the little details one notices in a book of over 500 pages. Here may follow some which seemed to me more important :

The 'oral law' (i.e. Mishnah and Talmud) was not counted by Saadia (introduction to *Emūnōt we-Deōt*) among 'the sources of knowledge of truth' (Husik, p. xli, top). Saadia counts there three general sources, consisting of the senses and reason, to which he adds the *Bible* as a special, fourth, source for Israelites in particular.—Saadia did not refute 'thirteen erroneous views concerning the origin and nature of the world' (*ibidem*), for one of these views, that of a *creatio ex nihilo*, is his own.—Saadia was not called to the Gaonate of Sura from Egypt (p. 1), for he had emigrated from Egypt to the Orient (Palestine and Babylonia) thirteen years prior to his appointment as Gaon. This fact has been known for the last twenty years, ever since the Genizah literature came to light, which the author should have consulted. The persistent translation of שמעיות by 'traditional' laws (pp. 39, 167, 203, *passim*) is misleading. It is a technical term for those Biblical laws which are not dictated by the human reason, but were ordained on Mount Sinai (as the sanctification of the Sabbath, dietary laws, &c.). The word should be translated by 'revealed', in contradistinction to 'rational' laws. Saadia borrowed the term from the Arabs and was the first to introduce it into Jewish literature.—On what ground does the author attribute to Saadia the statement that the Pan-

² The few philosophers who lived in other countries, as Israēli, Saadia, and others, are not entirely neglected by the author. Maimonides, who left Spain as a youth, occupies pp. 275-415.

theists believed in the pre-existence of the soul (p. 44)? In the text referred to there is no mention of Pantheists.—Too much emphasis is laid by the author (pp. 86, 89, 92) on Baḥya's originality in his distinction between Unity as applied to God and that predicated of other existences. All the details in Baḥya's arguments (p. 92) are actually found in a more concise form at the beginning of the tenth chapter of Saadia's *Emūnōt*. That Baḥya's argument for the priority of unity over plurality is based on the idealism of Plato (p. 90), according to which unity and plurality are in the same relation to one another as the universal idea and the individual object, seems to be the author's own interpretation and should have been substantiated by some textual parallels. His further remarks in this connexion are quite interesting and give a new aspect to Baḥya's exposition.—In the presentation of Baḥya's theory of the three essential attributes of God (p. 94 f.) one misses a reference to Saadia, *Emūnōt* (ed. Josefow, II, 5), who is the source of Baḥya; comp. *Emūnōt*, II, end, where even the same verse (Neh. 9. 5) is quoted in support of the theory here given by the author as that of Baḥya.—The doctrine given in the name of Ibn Ṣaddīk (147-9) that the commandments of the Torah, like the act of our creation, are for our own good, that we may enjoy happiness in the world to come, as it would otherwise not be proper to reward us without any merit on our part, is taken over in all details from Saadia's *Emūnōt*, chaps. III-V, which should have been noted. The same applies to Ibn Ṣaddīk's description of the Messianic world (p. 149); see *Emūnōt*, VII-IX.—It had escaped even the notice of Munk (*Guide des Égarés*, III, 128, n. 4) that it was Saadia, who was referred to by Maimonides (*Moreh*, III, 17) as 'one of the later Geonim', who adopted the strange Mu'tazilitic view, according to which even animals are to be rewarded in the hereafter for undeserved sufferings (as slaughter, &c.) which they had to undergo in this world. Saadia actually gives clear expression to this view (*Emūnōt*, III, 10, No. 4) and Munk's mistake was pointed out by Steinschneider (*Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 337, 356, top). Dr. Husik, overlooking Saadia, takes Ibn Ṣaddīk as the authority for the doctrine in question (p. 149).

In treating of Maimonides (p. 292) and later on of the Karaite Aaron b. Elijah (p. 377) he again reverts to the matter without noticing its origin. The Saadianic origin was to be noted also with regard to Ibn Ṣaddīk's contention (p. 149) that little children, who are without sin, will likewise be recompensed in the world to come for their sufferings in this world; comp. *Emūnōt*, VIII, 2; IX, 2, end. Such omissions are regrettable; for in a history of philosophy, as in the historical presentation of any subject, it is of special importance not only to reproduce with accuracy the seemingly detached theories of its various exponents, but to try to uncover the inner relations of the latter to one another. Dr. Husik does that quite often, especially in discussing the larger problems, but not often enough.

That Judah Halevi was ready to admit the eternity of matter, if reason should demand it, is not so certain as the author (p. 150) believes. He is unaware of the divergent interpretations given by recent scholars to the passage in the *Kuzari* (I, 67), upon which he bases his statement; see Kaufmann, *Attributenlehre*, p. 138, n. 56; *idem*, *MGWG.*, XXXIII (1884), 208-14; and Hirschfeld, *ib.*, p. 374.—That Terah was 'important' because of his son Abraham (p. 163), is not the idea Judah Halevi (*Kuzari*, I, 95) wishes to convey. On the contrary he admits that Terah, as others in the generations between Noah and Abraham, was devoid of the divine spirit, hence unimportant. But Abraham was not the continuator of the spirit of Terah, his father, but of that of Eber, in whose college, tradition says (s. Megillah, 17a), he studied.—'By a fortunate discovery of S. Landauer we are enabled to follow Judah Halevi's source with the certainty of eye-witnesses' (p. 175). The discoverer was not Landauer, but Steinschneider, whose remarks regarding Halevi's source had escaped Landauer's notice (see Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 18, n. 21; cp. Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 10, n. 2).—The translation of סבלים (Arabic جُهلاء) by 'fools' (pp. 243-4) is in all instances incorrect. Maimonides does not speak there of fools, but of people who are *ignorant* in the field of philosophy or metaphysics, though they may be learned in other

fields.—It should have been noted that the five causes enumerated by Maimonides as preventing people from the study of metaphysics (pp. 244 f.) are taken with very slight modifications from the end of Saadia's introduction to the *Emūnōt*.—That Maimonides had 'no idea of the Alexandrian School and of the works of Philo' (p. 268) is too venturesome an assertion. While it is true that Philo is not mentioned in mediaeval Jewish literature by name, his influence upon that literature is not subject to doubt (see Steinschneider. *JQR.*, XV, 394, especially Poznański, *RÉJ.*, L (1905), 10, 26–31; cp. also Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, Jena, 1875, pp. 299–302). The earlier Ḳaraïtes in particular show acquaintance with Philo, who is also meant by 'the Alexandrian' referred to by Ḳirḳisāni (cp. *JQR.*, N. S., I, p. 395).—The reason advanced by Maimonides for the Biblical prohibition against mixing divers seeds, or wearing garments made of a mixture of wool and flax, is, that such mixing was the custom of the idolaters and their priests. Moses, in his desire to wean the Israelites away from all idolatrous customs, therefore thought its prohibition necessary, though the custom in itself may be considered harmless. Dr. Husik, not satisfied with Maimonides' reason, suggests another one (p. 302). 'Why not say', he asks, 'the ancient Hebrews were forbidden to mix divers seeds because they had been from time immemorial taught to believe that there was something sinful in joining together what God has kept asunder; and in order not to shock their sensibilities too rudely the new religion let them have these harmless notions in order by means of these to inculcate real truth?' This is, indeed, rationalizing with a vengeance, and I doubt that the reader will find that Dr. Husik has here improved upon Maimonides.—Gersonides' view that God's creation was timeless, that the six days of the Bible are not to be taken literally, but as indicating the natural order and rank of the things in existence (p. 357), is not original with him. It was taught centuries before him by Saadia in his Commentary on the Book *Yeṣirah*; see M. Lambert, *Commentaire sur le Séfer*

Yesira, Paris, 1891, Arabic text, pp. 11-12, 87, French, pp. 27, 109.—‘Ha-Maor’ is not a proper name (p. 363) but an honorary title of the Ḳaraite in question, derived from the name of his main work. He is known by the name of Ḳirḳisāni, which the author wrongly puts in parentheses.—The various views held by the Ḳaraite Aaron b. Elijah with regard to reward and punishment in this world or in the world to come, as well as his reasons for the sufferings of Job (pp. 376-8) did not originate with Aaron himself, nor with the Ḳaraites preceding him. They are all to be found in Saadia’s *Emūnōt*, V, 2-3, and more especially in the introduction to his commentary on Job (ed. Bacher, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. V, Paris, 1899).—What is the source for the author’s assertion that ‘the Rabbis of the Middle Ages were inclined to recognize’ Christianity’s claim that Jesus performed miracles (p. 415)? For statements of such importance the sources should always be given; cp. Saadia, *Emūnōt*, III, 8, who disputes the claim to miracles by the founders of the non-Jewish religions.

Simon Duran deserved a better place than that allotted to him by the author in a note of a few lines (p. 447), the more so as the author there states that Joseph Albo, to whose philosophy he devotes a special chapter of twenty-two pages, ‘owes the central point of his contribution to Duran’, whom he (Albo) never quotes, and that ‘the charge of plagiarism brought against him is not far from justified’. Why then act against one’s own better insight?

The Notes of Dr. Husik, I regret to say, are not quite satisfactory. The book before us, though it takes into account the needs of the general reader, is destined to be used by students of philosophy, who are interested in the subject from a scientific point of view. In the Hebrew works, epitomized by the author, a large number of questions are dealt with, the discussion of which Dr. Husik, for one reason or another, could not or would not include in his presentation. Many of these questions may be neither Platonic nor Aristotelian, and the like, but their

solutions were part of the philosophic systems of the mediaeval authors, and the ideas therein involved often had a decisive influence upon their entire circle of thoughts. For brevity's sake I shall illustrate these remarks by only one point. Saadia, in the introduction to the third chapter of the *Emūnōt*, lays special stress on the publicity attaching to the miracles related in the Torah and on the uninterruptedness of Jewish tradition. This idea was seized upon by most of the mediaeval writers, using it as a weapon in their controversies with Christian and Moham-medan opponents. Judah Halevi actually builds his entire philosophy on this idea, and Abraham ibn Daud gives it much prominence (אמונה רמה, pp. 80 f.; cp. Guttman, *Die Religions-philosophie des Saadia*, p. 147, n. 3). In the chapter on Saadia, Dr. Husik does not mention the matter at all, nor is the idea of the continuity of Jewish tradition properly brought out even in the chapter on Halevi (see pp. 158, 162: 'the chain of individuals from Adam to Moses and thereafter was a *remarkable* one of godly men'. It is not a question of being remarkable; Halevi wishes only to emphasize uninterrupted continuity). Only when he reaches Abraham Ibn Daud the author reproduces the gist of the latter's argument from the continuity of Jewish tradi-tion (p. 227, bottom) without, however, bringing out its historical importance and its relation to Saadia and Halevi. It was in the Notes appended to the book that the author could have disposed of much valuable material. In most instances a mere allusion to the existence of such material, and a reference to where the student should look for further information, would have been sufficient. The summary mentioning of some recent book on Saadia or Maimonides, &c., at the beginning of the respective chapter cannot make up for this deficiency, nor can the selected Bibliography, or the brief references to the pages of the Hebrew texts upon which the author's expositions are based serve such purpose. Assuming, as I do, that Dr. Husik's book will be widely used by students of colleges and universities, as, indeed, it should be, I cannot share the optimism he expresses in the

Preface (p. viii) that it will do the professional student good 'to get less' than he wants. The student, the man of research, is always glad to receive even more than he has expected, and Dr. Husik, with his perfect mastery of the subject, with his splendid ability of presentation, was fully equipped to give it.

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GRAECO-ROMAN JUDAICA

Jüdisch-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom.

Literarische Untersuchungen zu Philo und Clemens von Alexandria, Justin und Irenäus. Von W. BOUSSET. [*Forschungen zur Rel. u. Lit. des A. u. N. Testaments*, Neue Folge, Heft 6, her. von H. GUNKEL u. W. BOUSSET.] Göttingen, VANDENHOECK und RUPRECHT, 1915. pp. viii, 319.

THE main title of the book is ambiguous. 'Schule' in this case denotes 'Academy', and an approximate translation would perhaps be, 'Scholastic Tradition among the Jews and Christians of Alexandria'. Rome, it may be noted, is referred to only in the last few pages.

Essentially the book is one of the many *Quellenstudien* which have loomed so largely in the German scholarship of the last decades. Professor Bousset undertakes to show in extant works of Philo and Clement that a large part of the material is taken almost bodily from other sources and is therefore not the product of the independent thinking of these men. But, whereas in other investigations of this sort it is attempted to show that the material so 'conveyed' is incorporated into the body of the work, because the author desired to appropriate it, it is argued here that the borrowed matter is not so incorporated, that Philo and Clement, in a sense, did not appropriate it at all, but on the contrary would have vigorously opposed it, if they had met it in controversial form. Why, then, was it introduced? Simply, declares Bousset, because it represented the scholastic tradition of the actual schools in which Philo and Clement received their training and because they had for that tradition an unbounded reverence.

As far as Philo is concerned, Bousset is concededly developing

suggestions contained in Bréhier's excellent treatise, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1908).

He analyses closely *Leg. Alleg. I-III, De Ebrietate and De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia* (pp. 43-101). It is in these that he regards his contention as demonstrated with particular clearness (p. 153). He finds especially in the allegorical commentary, doctrines that are principally derived from the later Stoa, that deal with biblical matters in a purely intellectual manner, and are based on a philosophic sensualism. All this is quite at variance with Philo's general moral and homiletic purpose and is manifestly opposed to his fundamental dogma of the impotence of the unaided human reason.

Bousset's method is the familiar one of noting contrasts of terminology between different parts of the book, of emphasizing the absence of qualifying statements, and of setting forth apparent contradictions or contradictory implications.

What was the nature of the scholastic tradition so freely used by Philo? While of Hellenic origin—Stoic, Neo-pythagorean, Epicurean—it was derived immediately from Jewish sources. It represented the teaching of the Alexandrian Jewish academies where Philo was trained and was characterized by a moral and religious indifferentism. Philo may have had the material before him in the form of actual note-books or in the lecture-sheets prepared by successive teachers for class-room use but not for publication. Bousset obtains these suggestions from W. Jäger, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles* (1912), and Gronau, *Poseidonius und die jüdisch-christliche Genesis-exegese* (1914).

For readers of the *JQR*, the existence of such a school cannot but be of the highest interest. Philo unquestionably is fond of quoting authorities anonymously, οἱ φυσικοί, οἱ φυσιολογῶντες, or more generally οἱ μὲν, οἱ δέ (*De leg. spec.* 5, 208). These anonymous authorities seem clearly enough, as Bousset and Bréhier contend, to derive from the later Stoa, but the essential point of Bousset's argument is that they come to Philo through Jewish mediation, to wit, that of an actual academic tradition.

That certain Greek philosophic concepts were commonly used in Jewish schools in Alexandria admits of little doubt. In *d. rer. div. haer.* 280, in the phrase of Gen. 15. 15 σὺ δὲ ἀπελεύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας, the statement is made by Philo that some (ἐνιοὶ) take the 'fathers' to be the sun and moon, some understand the ἀρχέτυποι ἰδέαι, some the four primal elements. Philo states these three views without indicating a preference,—a practice rare enough in Greek writers but common in the Mishnah. Accordingly, we have here, in a discussion of biblical exegesis, the application of Greek philosophic concepts, so that this single passage would of itself give probability to Bousset's principal thesis.

Just how far he has established his contention in any given case, i. e. just how fully he has demonstrated the Greek source and the Jewish mediation of the passages he brackets as un-Philonic, will be variously decided. The arguments in the main are cumulative, so that an attack on any one point will not be a conclusive answer. If Bousset were better acquainted with Rabbinic literature, he would find the procedure of Philo in citing matter opposed to his own views, without refuting it, not quite so strange.

Legitimate question may be raised on another point, and that is how Bousset reconciles the argument of the entire work with the statement of the preface (p. 1) that 'the philosophic literature—properly so-called—of the Jews arose in the time of Philo and primarily through his labours'.

The second part of the book (pp. 155-319) is devoted to Clement and the two other Church Fathers mentioned in the sub-title. Just as Bousset followed the suggestions of Bréhier in dealing with Philo, in his treatment of Clement he bases his work on the researches of Collomp, *Une Source de Clément d'Alexandrie et des Homélies Pseudo-Clémentines* (*Rev. de Phil. et Litt. et d'Hist. Anc.*, vol. 37 (1913), pp. 19-46). Collomp, and Bousset in this book, find in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, the *Eclogues* and *Strom.* VI-VII, a complete dependence on, almost a verbal citation of, Clement's teacher, Pantainos, the head of the

school where the Alexandrian catechumens were trained (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* V, 10, 1). Pantainos, however, and his school leaned toward Gnosticism in its more mystical and oriental forms, which as a rule, Clement opposed. In the case of Clement, the admission of such great blocks of matter, quite opposed to his own teaching, is explained by the reverential attitude Clement had toward this school, for which we have his own testimony (*Strom.* I, 11, 1).

The chapters on Justin and Irenaeus are merely applications of the same doctrine.

It is a highly stimulating and valuable work that the well-known Göttingen scholar here presents, and one that repays careful examination, whether his conclusions are accepted or not.

Studien zur Byzantinisch-Jüdischen Geschichte. Von Prof. Dr. SAMUEL KRAUSS. (XXI. Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien für das Schuljahr 1913-1914.) Wien, 1914. pp. 160.

Professor Krauss's study is divided into five sections. Section I deals with the external history of the Jews in the Eastern Roman Empire from 476 c. E. till about the middle of the thirteenth century (pp. 1-55). Section II treats of their social position (pp. 55-77). Section III with their organization and distribution (pp. 77-99). Sections IV and V contain a miscellaneous group of topics: Byzantium in Jewish Literature, Byzantine cultural elements and Byzantine Greek in Jewish writings and liturgy, Jewish scholars in the Empire, Lists of Emperors in Jewish writings, Jewish references to Byzantine wars, and finally a discussion of Schechter's article on the Chazars (*JQR.*, N.S., III, 204 ff.).

The history of the Jews in the Eastern Roman Empire is a field that has been most undeservedly neglected. If it is remembered that for mediaeval Europe that Empire was, in a very real sense, the centre of civilization, the importance of the Jewish communities there can scarcely be overrated. Professor

Krauss has put together data of a most interesting kind from both Jewish and Byzantine sources. Perhaps the most important sections are the second and third, in which the social life of the Jews is described. Much of this information is found only in scattered periodicals and its collection here renders it conveniently accessible for the first time.

Unfortunately the value of the work is marred by the defects that so often characterize the author's method. In spite of his unquestionably broad scholarship, Professor Krauss only too often allows himself to be led into a recklessness of statement that makes it impossible to accept his conclusions on many matters without renewed examination. In most cases that is due to haste in composition. So in discussing the celebrated Novel of Justinian (Nov. 146) the phrase *διὰ τὸ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν συμβεβηκός* merely means 'particularly because of what happened when the translation (viz. of the LXX) was made', and contains nothing unintelligible (p. 58, n. 5). Similarly *κατὰ δύο* (*in binos*) means 'in groups of two', not, 'in two parts'. Similarly, from his description of the Basilica (p. 62) nobody could learn the fact that this code is merely an abridgement of Justinian's *Corpus* in sixty (not eighty) books. But a specially flagrant example of the author's carelessness occurs in his discussion of the Chazar-document discovered by Schechter (p. 154, n. 1). Commenting on the word בולשצי, Krauss says, 'Das ist kein Eigennamen, sondern Titel, ein Würdenträger mit dem Titel *καρχᾶς*, Constant. Porphyrog. c. 40 (citiert in *A Magyar Nemzet története*, I, 47), griechisch *Βουλοσάλης* geschrieben.' Now if Professor Krauss had consulted the actual words of Constantine as they appear in the Bonn Corpus, and not in a Hungarian translation, he would have read *De ad. imp.* 40 (Const. Por. iii, 175, l. 12) *μετὰ τοῦ Βουλτζοῦ, τοῦ τρίτου ἄρχοντος καὶ καρχᾶ Τουρκίας*. And later *ὁ Βουλτζοὺς ὁ καρχᾶ υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ Καλῆ τοῦ καρχᾶ*. The word בולשצי, therefore, is, as the obvious sense of the passage demands, a name and not a title, and its evident correspondence to the name *Βουλτζοὺς* is additional and welcome evidence of how authentic the sources of Schechter's document were.

However, in spite of these defects, Krauss has put scholars under obligation to him, and it is to be hoped that further researches will be made in this field.

Syria as a Roman Province. By E. S. BOUCHIER. Oxford: B. H. BLACKWELL; New York: LONGMANS, GREEN, & Co., 1916. pp. vi, 304.

After a survey of the ethnography and geography of Syria, Bouchier gives us in Chapters II, IV, VI, VIII, a brief history of Syria from Seleucid days to the Arab conquest. A complete chapter (IV) is devoted to the Syrian imperial dynasty, and almost another (VI) to Palmyra. Interspersed among them, are accounts of Antioch (III), and other cities of Syria (V), and a discussion of the country's produce and the dispersion of its people (VII). Finally, chapters IX–XII deal with Literature, Religion, Architecture and the Arts. A short bibliography and a full index add appreciably to the book's value.

Mr. Bouchier professes to make no original contribution either in presentation or point of view. He has given a readable and interesting account of the external and internal fortunes of an important section and an important time. His command of the sources is adequate. It may be said that no circumstance of moment has been altogether omitted, and the general reader—for whom the book is intended—will obtain a clear and full conception of what Syria and Syrians meant to the history of Rome. That fact is one of the principal claims of the book upon the general public. Recent investigations, such as those of Strzygowski in the field of art, and Cumont in the history of religion, have made it clear that throughout the Empire it is in the East that the economic and cultural centre of gravity—and soon the political as well—is to be sought. But these views, generally accepted among scholars, have not filtered into current hand-books as yet, and the traditional presentation which almost ignores the East is the one still commonly used, so that, for many such a book as Bouchier's will supply a needful corrective

Especially in its account of Syrian emigration, will it prove of value. The ordinary reader finds it difficult to realize the enormous range of the dispersion of Syrians and Syrian ideas, and the details furnished, pp. 171-9, ought to set right many common misconceptions.

There is more than one matter which might be questioned. So, in discussing the Roman attitude toward Syrians, it would have been well to stress the vague character of the term *Syrus* at all stages of its use. Again, Gabinius was so little the enemy of the Jews which he appears to be in pp. 26-7, that we have the famous statement of Cicero that he outrageously favoured them. On p. 50, we have repeated the traditional account of the Hadrianic rebellion, which rests on insecure footing. On p. 101, we might have been told of Elagabalus's attempt at the fusion of existing faiths, a movement more directly undertaken by his cousin Alexander. Again, it is a wholly misleading statement that occurs on p. 116: 'Thus the exclusive Roman law in the commentaries which they (viz. Ulpian, Papinian, and Gaius) published became considerably modified by the cosmopolitan principle of the *ius gentium*.' What Ulpian and Papinian brought to the Roman law was rather the systematizing influence of science and philosophy, which was an imperative necessity for such a code of empiric precedents as the Roman system had become. In discussing the various cities of Syria, pp. 112-89, it would have been serviceable to mention the political status of most of them as set forth by Ulpian, *Dig.* l. 15. 1; e.g. that Tyre and Heliopolis and other cities, as well as Berytus, possessed the *ius Italicum* in most cases conferred by Septimius Severus. Further, in any biography, no matter how small, there should be a reference to Mommsen on the Roman Provinces (*R. G.*, vol. 5).

In general it may be said that the book has a somewhat amateurish tone. Scholars will profit little by it. But it more than compensates for that by the vividness of its style and the interesting character of the information here made accessible. Such pictures as Bouchier gives of Syrian student-life, p. 117 ff. and 222 ff., of the romantic movement that resulted in some of

the most important Greek romances, the parent of modern fiction (p. 231 ff.), are not only well done in themselves but present details not easily found elsewhere. All this cannot but serve to give a real content to the readers' conception of the time and the place.

Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria. By GUSTAVE ADOLPHUS HARRER. Princeton: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1915. pp. 94.

In this Princeton dissertation, Dr. Harrer has prepared a Prosopographia of the governors of Syria from the time of the great revolt in 68 to about the time of Diocletian. There are added appendices on The Separation of Syria and Cilicia, The Revolt of Pescennius Niger and The Divisions of Syria.

The work is one of painstaking and accurate scholarship, and is invaluable for chronological purposes. One cannot, however, help wondering whether doctoral dissertations ought not to be directed to a less arid field. Except as an exercise in the use of the sources, there is practically no opportunity for the application of critical judgement.

The governor whom the author calls 'unknown' (p. 28), he later identifies—with reservations—as Arrian, the historiographer, *Class. Phil.*, 11 (1916), 339.

New York.

MAX RADIN.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. By MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES. Cambridge: UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1913. pp. xx+389.

THE Colleges and Halls of which the great English Universities consist generally possess old libraries of their own, including more or less important manuscript collections, apart from the University Library. For Oxford these were listed in Coxe's catalogue in 1852, the few Hebrew manuscripts being also included as an appendix in Neubauer's great catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bodleian. Such a catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library is still wanting, Schiller-Szinessy's work only covering 72 out of 762 codices, to which now the Taylor-Schechter collection has been added (see E. N. Adler, *Transactions Jewish Hist. Soc. of England*, VIII, 12). About Hebrew manuscripts in the Colleges we have only W. Aldis Wright's appendix to Palmer's Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, which at that time (1870) possessed about thirty Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts. This collection, however, has been greatly increased lately, since we learn from C. D. Ginsburg's preface to the fourth volume of his *Massora*, that W. Aldis Wright had bought his collection of manuscripts and had arranged to bequeath it to Trinity. Ginsburg's collection consisted of about 100 volumes, partly described by Neubauer, *Letterbode*, XI, 157-65.

Since 1895 M. R. James, well known to many readers by his important contributions to the Apocryphal and Pseud-epigraphal literature, and as co-editor of *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, by Thomas Monmouth, the earliest case of the Blood accusation (see Joseph Jacobs, *JQR.*, IX, 748-55), has under-

taken the useful task of making all these various collections accessible by short and careful descriptions. We are indebted to him for a series of seventeen catalogues, some in several volumes, and, though in some cases he expressly restricts his work to the Western manuscripts of a college—even in those cases the few Hebraica are not excluded—his catalogues mostly describe the complete collections of the various colleges. The Hebrew manuscripts in these collections are of small importance. We find a Roman Mahzor for New Year's and the Day of Atonement in the Fitzwilliam Museum (No. 230 of the Catalogue of 1895); a copy of Prophets and Hagiographa in Gonville and Caius College (*Catalogue*, II, 1908, No. 404) of the thirteenth century, probably written in England for a Christian student, a conjecture partly anticipated by Bruns in his edition of Kennicott's *Dissertatio Generalis* (Braunschweig, 1783), pp. 377-8 to Codex 93; a complete Bible in three volumes in Emmanuel College (*Catalogue*, 1904, Nos. 5, 6, 7) acquired by Bishop Dr. William Bedell when chaplain of the English embassy at Venice, *c.* 1600, through Rabbi Leon [da Modena] 'the Chief Chaiham of the Synagogue there' with whose assistance he had, we learn, made great progress in Hebrew studies; Kennicott found the date 5045 = 1285 in the third volume; James finds in the illuminated title-page the work of a later artist, perhaps an Englishman; a couple of leaves of an old ritual, used for lining the cover of a Latin Isaiah with glosses in Pembroke College (*Catalogue*; 1905, No. 59) turned out to be a remnant of the old English ritual and was published in 1906 in the Jews' College Jubilee Volume pursuant to its discovery by James.

There are a number of items among the Latin manuscripts which are of considerable interest for Jewish literature. Steinschneider would have found very much interesting information for the translation literature. We find here a Latin Moreh in Trinity (*Catalogue*, III, 1902, No. 1412), no doubt the old translation discussed by Perles in 1875, which has been printed in Paris, 1520. Among medical treatises of the same author, two translations of Armengaud Blasii of Montpellier offer important

epigraphs supplementing Steinschneider's *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, pp. 765 and 767. MS. Gonville Caius (*Catalogue*, I, 1907, No. 178³, f. 165) states that Armengaud translated *liber moysis egyptii et de regimine egrorum et sanorum et specialiter de asinate* (Steinschneider corrects *asmate*) from the Arabic *mediante fidei interprete* in 1294 and published it—that seems to be the sense of *communicatur*—in 1302. Steinschneider's question (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1905, vol. CLI, p. 33), whether this is the same translation as the *tractatus contra passionem asmatis* in a Peterhouse manuscript (*Catalogue*, 1899, No. 101⁴) is not answered by James. The latter text is preceded by Maimonides' tract on poison by the same translator, who states that he did the work in 1307 at the request of Pope Clement V.

A considerable number of astronomical and astrological treatises by Jews in Latin translations we meet in codex 1185 of Trinity College. The second of them, the *canones* of *Abraham Iudeus salmanticensis*, i. e. Zacuto, are no doubt part of his printed Almanach perpetuus (Leiria, 1496) which Columbus used; the fourth has the *canones* of Jacob Poel, while Steinschneider, *l. c.*, 615, according to the Cat. MSS. Angliae of 1697 quotes MS. Thomas Gale as containing the tables of the Poel; possibly they are included in the fifth part of the codex, which ought to be compared with the Bodleian manuscript mentioned by Steinschneider. The tracts of Mashallah and Sahl ben Bishr (here in the usual corrupt forms Zebel and Zael) forming parts 10-12, 14-15, and 19-22 of the codex, if compared with the editions, may help to clear up the complicated bibliographical questions concerning the writings of these authors, of which Steinschneider treats in his *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, § 18-19. Several of these tracts occur in English translations in MS. Trinity College 1307. Similarly, we find copies of Isaac Israeli's medical works, mostly in Constantinus's version, and others; but, as far as I can see, they offer no points of special interest.

The last of James's Catalogues, which is under review here, is that of St. John's College, the one of which that great Christian

student of Rabbinic literature. Dr. Charles Taylor, was master for many years. While this College has more Hebrew manuscripts than any of the others, except Trinity, their number does not exceed four. Three of these belong to the oldest possessions of the College, having been given in 1546, and are described as numbers 1-3. The first of them contains a Pentateuch with Megillot, Job, Proverbs, and Haftarot, and was finished in 1260 according to the epigraph, which was printed in the *Hebräische Bibliographie*, XIX, p. 23 from Wickes's copy. James gives it in English translation. We learn from it that Samuel ha-Naḥdan pointed the manuscript for his brother (or friend, relation) Levi, and finished it Friday before the reading of **בִּי הִנֵּה**, i.e. August 20, 1260. Kennicott, overlooking this epigraph, judged the codex to be written in Spain in the early fifteenth century. The Naḥdan was either French or German. Neubauer, *REJ.*, IV, 15, note, identifies him with the martyr Samuel ben Eleazar of the Nürnberg Memorbook, who met his fate in Mosbach (Baden) in 1297, but this identification is, as Salfeld rightly remarks in his edition of the Martyrologium, pp. 283-4, still open to serious doubt. The manuscript was provided later with Latin headlines and chapter numbers. One cannot understand how the learned cataloguer could state: 'Evidently *written or* adapted for the use of a Western scholar, very likely a Franciscan'. The fact that the codex includes the Haftarot as well as its whole arrangement makes the first alternative very unlikely; the epigraph excludes it. On the other hand, Bruns, *l. c.*, p. 379 to cod. 96 suggests such an hypothesis for the second manuscript, containing the end of Judges (now wrongly bound at end of the codex), the rest of the Former and the Latter Prophets, and he believes that this manuscript and that of Gonville and Caius College mentioned above were copied from one another.

MS. 3 is of much greater value; it is a copy of Rashi's commentary on Prophets and Hagiographa from the first half of the thirteenth century; the date is not quite clear to me: 'on the day before the New Year at the end of the year of the fifth thousand' probably reads in Hebrew **עֶרֶב רִאשִׁי הַיְּשָׁנָה בְּסוֹף שְׁנַת ה' אֲלָפִים**, i.e.

August 31, 1239 (not 1238). Is Samuel ben Isaac, who sold the book to Nathaniel ben Jacob, the scribe or the man for whom it was written?

The commentary on the last eight chapters of Job and on Chronicles, which, as is well known, are not by Rashi, ought to be examined. If Darmesteter, when in England to examine the French glosses in the Rashi manuscripts, had known of this codex, he would not have spoken of the Rashi manuscripts at Cambridge as all of recent date and offering no interest; see his *Reliques scientifiques*, I, p. 115.

Codex 218 contains a copy of Kīmḥi's ספר השרשים on vellum of the thirteenth century. The Hebrew scribble at the end of MS. 78, a collection of medical works in Latin translations, probably is due to the fact that the volume once belonged to a Jewish physician. Perhaps he wrote there some recipes.

In what language the *Dominica oratio hebraice* (?) in cod. 189 on the flyleaf is, which begins: 'Abba hay consiran mel odenson epitre aemalatre', and ends: 'Adass sabilo naia se be le', I do not know.

In the Index, p. 372, under Bible Hebrew, No. 114 is also recorded, but it contains Jerome's version of the Psalter of the Hebrew. We miss the reference to the Hebrew letters on fol. 180 b of No. 107. Such lists we also find in several other catalogues of James; see e.g. Corpus Christi, No. 2, fol. 278, No. 48; Pembroke, No. 174; Gonville and Caius, No. 601, fol. 310 b, partly with French, &c.

Of other items of Jewish interest, besides Latin Bibles and Apocrypha, we find a Latin Josephus, two copies of Petrus Alphonsus, *contra Iudaeos*, and some translations of Isaac Israeli's medical works.

Perhaps I may add the 'ludi pulcherimi Salamonis quos mandauit Regine Acrys nobilissime domine quos fecit rex salamon filius regis dauid pulciores quos poterit pro requestu predictae domine', fols. 70-75 of No. 155 (cp. also MS. Trinity 1081, fol. 128).

Like all its predecessors, the volume begins with a short

history of the collection, lists of former owners, &c. As there were no early catalogues of the collection, and that of 1843 follows the present arrangement, like James's, there was no occasion for comparative tables with earlier numbers found in most of the other catalogues of James. Altogether 502 manuscripts are described on 368 pages; 267 of them which are mediaeval are dealt with more fully on 318 pages; to the more recent ones, 'for the most part of very slight importance', only 50 pages are given. From an introductory note to the latter (p. 319) we learn that the Oriental manuscripts outside of the Hebrew ones were excluded from the catalogue. The volume concludes with a good index. Dr. James is to be congratulated on the successful completion of his series of catalogues, which, as can be seen from these remarks, offer some interesting information even for our field of studies.

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SOME LEAVES OF AN EGYPTIAN JEWISH RITUAL

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IN the Spring of 1916, Professor Camden M. Cobern left with me for examination and study thirty-four Hebrew fragments. These he had obtained a few years before in Cairo from a trusty town Arab who had been with him previously on several exploring expeditions. They doubtless originally came from one of the Genizahs of Cairo, presumably from the Ezra Synagogue where Schechter had obtained such great treasures.

Twelve of the fragments are printed leaves and contain various passages of the Bible. Five of these printed pages belong to a Bible (4to) of the early seventeenth or even sixteenth century, and are without vowel-points. The others are more recent.

Most of the twenty-two manuscript fragments are of a liturgical nature, but vary in age and palaeographical peculiarities. Fourteen leaves, however, written on paper, evidently belong to one and the same book; to these we have given more attention, and in the present article we give the results of our examination.

The text exhibited by these fourteen fragments shows highly interesting variants, not only in individual words or expressions, but also in larger sections. Some of the readings are not to be found in any of our printed rituals, and for this, if for no other reason, they ought to appeal to

all those who are interested in the origin and evolution of the Jewish Rites.

The Prayer Book from which the leaves have been torn must have contained not only the prayers for work days, Sabbaths, &c., but also the text of the prayers for the Holy days, as the last folios belong to Yom Kippur. If they really come from the Ezra Genizah, it is probable that the rest of the ritual is now still extant, perhaps scattered in various collections, as is often the case with Manuscripts discovered in recent times. (Compare E. N. Adler, 'Genizah' in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.) It may be possible therefore that some day the text of this ritual may be reconstructed in its main sections if not in its entirety.

The page is about $6 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. It contains generally 16 lines, sometimes 15 (7 a, 9 b, 14 b), and sometimes 17 (6 b, 11 a, 12 b, 13 a). The number of letters in the line is not constant but varies from around 20 to over 30. In the lower margin of the verso, the first word of the following folio is given as catchword.

The folios do not seem to have been numbered, at least we have discovered no trace of the numbering. For the order and arrangement of the fragments we have been guided partly by the Rubrics at the beginning of some of the sections, e.g. 6 a, 11 a; partly by the catchwords and by the contents of the prayers themselves. We have also considered the similarity of the state of preservation of the leaves. It is probable that generally speaking adjoining leaves must have been detached at the same time and formed little bunches exhibiting more or less the same characteristics. It is evident that fragments 10-14 are consecutive and belong to Yom Kippur. It is also certain that 1 and 2 belong together, as do also 3-5, 6-7, 8-9.

The arrangement of these little groups is also comparatively easy. Fragments 1 and 2 contain portions of the Shemoneh Esreh; their simple form is evidently that used for work days. Besides, they must belong to the Morning Service, as these leaves must have been in close proximity to 3-5 which belong to the Morning Service and give us *וְכַה לַעֲשׂוֹת*. Fragments 1-5, therefore, belong to the Morning Prayer. At least one folio is missing between 2 and 3; folio 2, which must have contained the end of the Amidah, would not have been large enough to contain also the various supplications which precede the Half Kaddish.

Similarly, at least a folio must be lost between 5 and 6; it contained some more supplications and the Full Kaddish.

The classification of 6-9 offers special difficulties, and we have hesitated a long time before adopting the order given here. At the end of fragment 7 there is the catchword *כְּמַלַּת* ('is finished'), this same word begins fol. 8; the probabilities are therefore that 8 comes immediately after 7. But fragments 6-7 contain the Minhah Service for Work Days, and of course must have been preceded by the ordinary Morning Prayer, whereas leaves 8-9 contain the special Morning Prayers for Mondays and Thursdays, and besides, are headed by the rubric 'End of the Morning Prayer'. Now this rubric would fit better if the regular Morning Prayer had come immediately before, and would hardly be proper if preceded by the Afternoon Service. Besides, it is more logical to have the special Morning Prayers for Mondays and Thursdays after the ordinary Shahrit.

However, we have adopted the arrangement given here for the following reasons: The catchword *כְּמַלַּת* naturally leads to a folio that begins with that word; it is true that

a lost folio might have begun with that word, but it is hardly likely that two folios in close proximity would thus coincide, although, of course, it is possible. A closer examination of the fragments leads to the same conclusion. Fragments 5-9 show the same mutilations and must have been together in the original manuscript; folios 7 and 8 are the closest in that respect; they exhibit not only the same general mutilations but also the same little creases and minor injuries; there is no doubt that they were together at least after being separated from the rest of the manuscript, and all told, it seems to us more probable that they have been kept together because they were already together in the book. The writing on fol. 6 is well preserved, while it is exceedingly faint on 7-9; fol. 6, therefore, escaped some vicissitudes which 7-9 underwent. By placing the section for Mondays and Thursdays before the Minḥah Service, we would have the order: 8, 9, 6, 7 in which case it would be hard to explain the striking similarities between 7 and 8, and the dissimilarities of 6.

Furthermore, if a radical distinction had been made between the Morning and Minḥah Service, we would naturally expect the Rubric for the latter to begin with *במלה*, as we find ff. 8 and 11, but this is not the case. Our view is that the scribe went on with the Minḥah Service immediately after the Morning Prayer, and gave afterwards what had relation to Mondays and Thursdays. Probably the title was stereotyped and was reproduced just as it was even when the place of insertion would have logically called for a change. So we have the order: 1-5 Morning Prayer; 6-7 Afternoon Service; 8-9 Special Service for Mondays and Thursdays.

As to ff. 10-14 they are certainly consecutive and all

refer to the end of the Afternoon and the beginning of the Evening Service for the day before Yom Kippur.

Script. Portions of the rubrics and titles are written in large ordinary square characters marked with three dots in a triangle, e. g. 1 a, 2 b, &c. The rest is written in what is known as Oriental Rabbinic Script. The letters are generally not joined, except ב and ו . If Yod and sometimes Waw come between ב or ו and another letter in the same word, they are often written over the ligature, e. g. עלבם. As more characteristic forms we may mention $\text{ז} = \text{ז}$; $\text{ז} = \text{ז}$; $\text{ז} = \text{ז}$; $\text{ז} = \text{ז}$. Others, although similar to the ordinary Rabbinic are yet different. Some of the characteristics exhibited in these fragments are found in some of the facsimiles published by Neubauer, from MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Plates III, VII, X, XIII, XIX, XXIX. All these, except III, are more cursive than our fragments, see p. 266.

Extended Letters. Extended letters are used comparatively seldom and only as the last letter of the line. The letter Mem is the most commonly extended letter; yet not the whole body of the letter is extended but only the top stroke מ not מ , e. g. 4 a, 7; 8 b, 10; 14 b, 10, &c. Similarly נ occurs as נ , 12 b, 13. The only other extended letters that we have noticed are $\text{י} = \text{י}$, 13 a, 1, 10; $\text{ו} = \text{ו}$, 12 b, 14.

As a rule, instead of extending letters to fill up the end of a line, either the line is left unequal or, as often occurs, the first letter or letters of the following line are written and cancelled by a slanting stroke overtopping the last letter, the whole word is then repeated at the beginning of the next line, e. g. 1 a, 3; 3 a, 7; 3 b, 5; 5 a, 1, &c., &c.

Abbreviations. Abbreviations occur very seldom in

break within a section is marked by two points juxtaposed horizontally in line with the top of the letters, e.g. 4 a, 3; 10; 7 a, 4; 9 a, 12, &c. In one case, the two points are vertical, 11 b, 10. The end of a section or a larger break is marked regularly by four points arranged as a vertical lozenge, as in Ethiopic (*), e.g. 1 a, 6 and *passim*.

Corrections. Words wrongly written are cancelled by points placed over them (cp. Butin, *The Ten Extraordinary Points of the Torah*), e.g. 1 a, 1; 3 a, 1-4, &c.; in a few instances a dash is used instead of the points, e.g. 2 b, 5; 9 b, 7. The dash is also used to cancel letters put at the end of the line to fill in, so that they would not be read twice, see above under *Extended Letters*.

A word that has been omitted is either written above the line, e.g. 10 b, 10; 13 a, 9; or the sign ∨ is inserted over the place of omission and the word or words are given in the margin preceded by the same sign, e.g. 12 a, 12 (twice); 5 b, 3. There must have been also an insertion on 6 a, 8 and 11 a, 1, as the sign ∨ occurs in the text, but the words or sentences to be inserted have not been preserved owing to the mutilated state of the margin. In two cases, 12 a, 12 and 12 b, 4, where a correction has to be made at the beginning of the line, the word is written just opposite with the sign = leading to the place.

Other Signs. The titles written in large characters are marked by three dots in a triangle, e.g. 1 a, 3; 1 b, 5, &c., &c. These three dots are also found where the scribe has apparently forgotten to write the title in larger letters, e.g. 3 b, 2, &c.

The portions of the rubrics not written in large letters are marked with a horizontal stroke with or without a hook, or ~, e.g. 6 a, 3, 4; 11 a, 3, 4, &c.

At times the portion of the line immediately under the large letters is left blank. This blank space has no meaning except to prevent the crowding of letters in the corresponding parts of the lines, e.g. 1 a, 4; 3 a, 7, &c.

Other signs apparently occur, e.g. 10 a, 13, but on closer examination they are only a portion of a letter showing through the paper. One has to be particularly careful with smaller signs and points, e.g. 4 b, 2, &c. The peculiar sign on 1 b, 1, very probably indicates transposition.

AGE AND COUNTRY.

Age. It is somewhat difficult to assign a very definite date to these fragments; very likely when the rest of the ritual is found and edited a colophon may give us not only the date but the name of the scribe and the exact locality from which it was made. Our opinion is therefore more or less conjectural.

As far as paper and sizing is concerned, the leaves could be as late as the sixteenth century; but when we examine the script we come to a less vague conclusion. As pointed out above, the script resembles that of Plates III, VII, X, XIII, XIX, XXIX in Neubauer's Facsimiles. Plate III is an autograph of Maimonides and therefore written towards the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century (cp. Neubauer, *Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 393). The characters and general appearance are strikingly alike, yet the letters פ and ס are less cursive in Plate III than in our leaves, and their form is undoubtedly older. Plate X (Neubauer, No. 2253, 11) and Plate XIX (No. 2008), both of the sixteenth century; and Plate VII, end of the fifteenth century, exhibit a far more cursive character

and are later than our leaves. Plate XIII is an autograph of Isaac de Lattes, and the MS. was finished in 1372 (Neubauer, No. 1298); it is also more cursive, the shape of certain letters as well as the general appearance point to a date later than the Cobern leaves. The present leaves would find their proper place between the time of Maimonides and that of Isaac de Lattes, i.e. between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth century, very probably towards the end of the thirteenth or first half of the fourteenth century. This is further borne out by a comparison with an autograph letter of Abraham, son of Maimonides, of the early thirteenth century, reproduced by E. N. Adler, in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 'Genizah', V, 612; there is a striking resemblance, and although *Ḳoph* still retains the form found in Maimonides, *Aleph* leans strongly to the form of our leaves.

Country. As to the home of the ritual, there is no doubt that it was an Arabic-speaking country, since the rubrics are written in Arabic. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that this country was Egypt, not merely because the leaves were discovered in Egypt but also because *Kol Nidre* is not given for the Evening Service of *Yom Kippur*, 11 a, a custom which, as far as we know, was peculiar to Egypt (see 'Kol Nidre', in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and the authorities cited there). Besides, the nature of the paper is too closely akin to the Fayyum papers, to make it necessary for us to think of any other provenance.

CHARACTER OF THE RITUAL.

This ritual was intended for the use of the *Ḥazan* or *Sheliaḥ Ṣibbur* and not for the congregation. This is made clear from the fact that the form of the third Benediction

for the Day of Atonement is the one used by the Ḥazan when repeating the Amidah, also from the place assigned for the Confession of Sins on the same day. When the Congregation recites the Amidah, the Confession of Sins is placed after it, but when the Ḥazan repeats it, he includes it in the fourth Benediction (see Dembitz, *Jewish Service in the Synagogue and Home*, pp. 165 ff.); the latter arrangement is the order followed here.

This ritual does not correspond to any of the others. Some of the passages and readings are found now in one rite and now in another, but the text as a whole is quite distinct. Thus, passages are found in Amram, Saadya, Maimonides, Vitry or in some of the other rites, as will be pointed in the notes, in fact whole sections are common to them all. Yet, this does not prove actual dependence of this ritual on any of the others; it proves merely that it draws from the same sources as the others. The discrepancies are too numerous to allow of any other solution. Certain sections are undoubtedly very ancient and their form older than that of any other rite, such as, e.g. the Confession of Sins, Seliḥah ענין, &c. For much of the material found in these leaves we should go back to Gaonic times.

This ritual, however, shows the influence of Maimonides in many of the prayers and also in their arrangement, especially in the arrangement of the section following the Amidah on Work Days. This confirms its Egyptian origin, as in Egypt the Siddur of Maimonides soon superseded that of Saadya. There are also striking resemblances between our ritual, the Italian and a Sephardic recension published and translated by Ottolenghi (see later), notably for the Confession of Sins. All told,

these leaves would belong to the Spanish group rather than to the Ashkenazi. On the various influences that brought about differentiations between the rites, see Zunz, *Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, pp. 5 ff.

We leave to more skilled hands the task of ascertaining in detail the origin of the special readings, but we feel sure that this text will prove of some value for the question of the origin, growth, and evolution of the Jewish Rites in general and for the history of the Egyptian Minhag in particular.

In the preceding notice we have perhaps entered into useless details, yet it is hoped that they may be the means of identifying some of the sister leaves scattered in various places and inaccessible to the present writer.

DESCRIPTION.

Fol. 1. This folio is badly mutilated; eight lines are missing and only five entirely complete. It contains a portion of the Amidah in a form different from the other rites. The writing, however, is perfectly clear and legible.

Fol. 2. This is probably the worst of the fourteen fragments. Only three complete lines are left; but there are portions, sometimes only a word or two, of five other lines. Writing in itself legible, but text hard to reconstruct on account of the many lacunae due to tears, holes, and various mutilations. It continues the Amidah down to Modim.

Fol. 3. Contains five complete lines. The rest badly torn but showing portions of five additional lines. Writing clear and legible. Fol. 3a contains some supplications preceding the Half Kaddish, the beginning of the Half Kaddish, in a very fragmentary state. Fol. 3b contains

the end of the Half Kaddish, והוא רחום, Ashres and the beginning of Ps. 145.

Fol. 4. Has eight lines complete and two lines rather fragmentary. Writing clear and legible. Fol. 4a contains the continuation of Ps. 145. Fol. 4b, end of Ps. 145; followed by Ps. 146. 5 and 84. 13. Then comes וְבֵא לְעֵינַי ll. 5-10. With line 10 begins the K̄edushah (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v.). The text of Isa. 59. 21-22 is lost, only the end of the Aramaic Targum remaining on top of fol. 5a.

Fol. 5 is complete with its sixteen lines; a few lines are a little mutilated at the beginning and at the end, but the text is easily reconstructed. Writing clear and legible. Fol. 5a gives the end of the K̄edushah; then supplications mostly agreeing with Yemen; the differences in this section down to 5b, 8 are not great among the various rituals. At the end of 5b comes a section of which one line is given, but which we have not been able to identify.

After fol. 5 there is at least one folio missing, containing the end of the supplications and the Full Kaddish with its complementary prayers; the end of those prayers are given at the beginning of 6a.

Fol. 6 is complete with sixteen lines (6a), and seventeen lines (6b). It exhibits the same mutilations at the beginning and end of the lines as fol. 5 (see below, pp. 282, 283). The writing is clear and legible. Fol. 6a, l. 3, begins the Minḥah Service for Work Days, with its Arabic Rubric. The text begins with והוא רחום, &c., as on fol. 3b. Then comes Ps. 145 given in full down to fol. 6b, l. 15. The same Ashres follow as on fol. 4b. With l. 17 begins the Kaddish de-Rabbanan.

Fol. 7 is complete with sixteen lines and has the same

mutations as the preceding two folios. The writing is very faint and not easily read. We succeeded in deciphering some of the words only with the help of a strong magnifying glass and after having cleaned the paper with dioxygen; by this means the paper was somewhat bleached and the writing stood out better by contrast. Fol. 7 a contains most of the *Ḳaddish de Rabbanan*; fol. 7 b, end of the *Ḳaddish*, followed (ll. 3-16) by two quotations from 1 Kings 8. 57-60 and Joshua 1. 8-9. The *Minḥah* Service ends with the folio.

Fol. 8 is complete with sixteen lines and has the same mutilations and even minor injuries as fol. 7; the writing is also very faint and the folio was treated in the same way as fol. 7. The beginning of l. 2 could not be read with certainty. The application of ammonium sulphide gave the paper a bluish tint but failed to revive the writing. With fol. 8 a begins the Special Service for Mondays and Thursdays. The order of the prayers comes nearest to Italian, but instead of *אל מלך* our ritual reads *Seliḥah ענינו*, 8 b. This *Seliḥah* is not alphabetical and exhibits an older form than that found in the other rites. Then follow *אל ארך אפים*, l. 10 and the Thirteen Attributes, l. 14. Fol. 9 is also complete with sixteen (9 a) and fifteen (9 b) lines. It shows the same mutilations as the others. The writing, however, is not as faint; on the other hand there is in the paper much more extraneous matter, stains and other defects, which render the reading rather difficult in places. Fol. 9 a, l. 2 gives us the Shorter Confession of Sins, after which, ll. 14-16, comes an Arabic rubric telling of the recitation of *אבינו מלכנו* in a prostrate form and of *אבינו מלכנו חנינו וענינו*, but the text itself of the prayers is not given; then, fol. 9 b, follow some supplications as on fol. 3 a, and

the beginning of Ps. 20. With this folio ends the first part of the leaves.

Ff. 10-14 form a continuous text beginning with the second half of the Confession of Sins for Minhah Service of the Day preceding Yom Kippur, and ending with the same section for the Evening Service of the same day. The text of the Confession is therefore complete. They cover the end of the Service of the Afternoon and the beginning of the Evening Service, including the first three Benedictions of the Amidah for Yom Kippur and the greater portion of the Fourth Benediction, in which is included the Confession of Sins when the Ḥazan repeats the Amidah (cp. Maimonides, *loc. cit.*, Widdui, p. 155).

Fol. 10 contains the sixteen lines but with many short breaks due to holes, tears, &c. The writing is well preserved as it is in these four folios. It contains the end of the Minhah Service, which ends on fol. 11 a, l. 1.

Fol. 11, complete with seventeen (fol. 11 a) and sixteen (fol. 11 b) lines, is fairly well preserved. It contains the rubric in Arabic introducing the Evening Service. We note the absence of any reference to *Kol Nidre*. The opening prayers are merely indicated in the rubric but their text is not given. The text begins with the Amidah, l. 5. There are interesting variations in the first two Benedictions, which will be given in the notes. Fol. 11 b, l. 5, gives the Third Benediction, the first part of which is evidently based on Maimonides.

Fol. 12, also well preserved and complete, continues the Third Benediction down to fol. 12 b, l. 15. With l. 15 begins the Middle Benediction *אתה בחרתנו*.

Fol. 13, well preserved and complete, continues the Fourth Benediction. The text offers some interesting

variants also pointed out in the notes. The Confession of Sins included in the Fourth Benediction by the Ḥazan when he repeats the Amidah, begins with fol. 13 b, l. 4.

Fol. 14 is not so well preserved but offers a fairly complete text with minor breaks, due to tears; the writing is legible. Fol. 14 a, l. 1 contains a section not found in others and taking the place of the usual *מה נאמר*. The List of Sins is given in fol. 14 b, but in a form much shorter than in most of the other rites, and resembling strikingly Ottolenghi's Sephardic recension, although not identical with it.

In the preparation of the notes we have compared these leaves with the following editions of the other rites to which we have had access:—

ASHKENAZI

N. M. Adler, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, London, 1912.

W. Heidenheim, *סדור שפת אמת*, Rödelheim, 1877.

S. Baer, *סדר עבודת ישראל*, Rödelheim, 1868.

A. L. Frumkin, *סדור תפלת כמנהג אשכנז עם סדר רב עמרם השלם*, Jerusalem, 1912.

.... *סידור בית יעקב כמנהג אשכנז*, Warsaw, 1910.

Service of the Synagogue, 3rd ed., 6 vols., London, 1908–1913.

SEPHARDIC

Salomone Fiorentino, *Orazioni quotidiane per uso degli Ebrei spagnoli e portoghesi*, Livorno, 1825.

.... *ע"פ נוסח ספרד*, 2 vols., Wilna, 1878.

* L. E. Ottolenghi, *לימים נוראים*, 6 small vols. Livorno, 1821.

CARPENTRAS

סדר לימים נוראים כמנהג ק"ק קרפינטרא, Amsterdam, 1739.

ARAGON

מחזור לראש השנה ויום הכפורים למנהג ק"ק אראגון, Salonica, 1809.

ITALIAN

A. Hasdà, *Formulario ordinato tradotto delle preghiere Israelitiche di Rito Italiano*, Torino, 1902.

. מחזור כמנהג קהל קדוש בני רומה, Venice, 1710.

SAADYA

Various notes in Baer, Frumkin, and in Landsuth's עמודי העבודה, s. v.

PERSIAN

Passages given by E. N. Adler, *JQR.*, X, 606 ff.

MAIMONIDES

ספר תפלה, at the end of Ahabah, in Mishneh Torah, 4 vols., Wilna, 1900 (Ahabah, pp. 150 ff.).

YEMEN

סדר תפלה . . . כמנהג ק"ק צנעא יע"א וכל מחוז החימו, Wien, 1906.

Another Yemen (Babylonian) recension of the Amidah, Kaddish, and other portions, is given in Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 301, 305 f., also in Holtzmann, *Mischnah Berakot*, 13 ff.

AMRAM, in Frumkin, as above.

RASHI, סדור רש"י, ed. Buber, Berlin, 1911.

VITRY

מחזור ויטרי, ed. Hurwitz, Berlin, 1893.

Einleitung u. Register zum Mahzor Vitry, Berlin, 1896-1897.

PALESTINIAN AMIDAH

Published by S. Schechter, *JQR.*, X, 654; reproduced in Dalman, *loc. cit.*, 299; Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*, 11 ff.

We have also utilized the following liturgical works, which, although not giving a continuous text, have often preserved ancient readings:—

J. KARO, אורח חיים, Wilna, 1500.

ABUDARHAM, ספר אבודרהם, Warsaw, 1877.

KOL-BO, כל בו, Fürth, 1781.

MAHARIL, ספר מהרי"ל, Warsaw, 1874.

HAMANHIG, ספר המנהיג חברו הרב אבן ירחי, Berlin, 1855.

On the Amidah mention must be made of Elbogen, 'Geschichte des Achtzehngebets', in *Monatschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 330 ff.; 427 ff.; 513 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A	Ashkenazi	O	Ottolenghi's edition of S
Am.	Amram	P	Palestinian Amidah
Ar.	Aragon	Per.	Persian
Abud.	Abudarham	R	Roman Maḥzor
C	Carpentras	S	Sephardic
I	Italian	V	Vitry
K	Kol Bo	Y	Yemen
M	Maimonides		

Fol. I. Recto.

וּבִרְכָּה וְשִׁלּוֹם כְּבִרְכַּת הַשְּׁנִימִם הַטּוֹבוֹת כ[י]	1
אֵל טוֹב וּמִיטֵב אַתָּה בָּאֵי מִבֶּרֶךְ הַשְּׁנִימִם *	2
תִּקַּעַּ בְּשׁוֹפָר גָּדוֹל לְחִירוֹתֵינוּ וְשֵׂא נָם	3
לְקַבֵּיץ גְּלוּתֵנוּ וְק[רא] דְּרוֹר וְקַבְּצֵנוּ	4
יַחַד מִהֲרָה מֵאַרְבַּע כִּנּוּפ[ות] כָּל הָאָרֶץ לְאַרְצֵינוּ	5
בָּאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל * הַשִּׁיבָהּ	6
שׁוּ[פְּטִינוּ כְּבִרְאשׁ] וְנָה [וְיַע] צִינוּ [כ] בְּתַחֲלָה	7
ו וּמִלּוֹךְ עָלֵינוּ	8
מ	9

The folio opens with the end of the ninth Eulogy, **בִּרְכַּת הַשְּׁנִימִם**; the Amidah is found in V, § 90 (Hurwitz, p. 66). in Am., § 38 (Frumkin, I, 246), in Abud., p. 58, col. 2; K, § 11, 4 c ff.; in the other rituals in the usual place. Saadya's Amidah is given in Frumkin, I, 242. The end of this Eulogy does not correspond exactly to any of the other rituals.

L. 2. **וּמִיטֵב**, probably an error for **וּמִיטֵב**.

Ll. 3-6. Tenth Eulogy.

L. 4. **לְקַבֵּיץ**, so P; others **לְקַבֵּץ**. **וְקַבְּצֵנוּ**, found in Am. and Abud., omitted in others.

L. 5. **מִהֲרָה**, so S, others omit; **כָּל**, so M and V; **לְאַרְצֵינוּ**, so most rituals, omitted in A and Sa.

L. 6. Supply **נְדָחֵי עַמּוֹ**. This Eulogy in Saadya is much shorter and different.

Ll. 6-8. Eleventh Eulogy.

L. 8. Supply probably **וְהִסְרָ מִמֶּנּוּ יִגּוֹן וְאַנְחָה**. Am. reads **וּמִלּוֹךְ** immediately after **בְּתַחֲלָה**.

Fol. i. Verso.

והמצעבים להם כולם מהרה מארץ יבריתו	1
וישמרו ויבאירו(?) ושבדור זרועם והכניעם	2
למען שמך יי אלהינו ואל תתן תקומה לכל	3
אויבי נפשינו באי שובר אויבים ומכניע	4
זידים * על הצדיקים ועל [החסידים] ועל	5
גיר הצדק ועל כל י[שראל]	6
ועל[י]נו יהמו רחמך שבר	7
טוב לכל הבוט[ח]ים ים	8
ל ע	9
.	

End of twelfth Eulogy. The differences between the various rituals are too numerous to be listed.

L. 1. Read והמצעבים, the sign over the *y* indicates transposition.

L. 2. *ויבאירו* should be *ויאבירו*, the middle letters are, however, doubtful. On this Eulogy compare also Per., *JQR.*, X, 610.

L. 5. Thirteenth Eulogy. The text is very close to Y, see also Per. *JQR.*, *ibid.*

L. 6. Read ג(י)רי. Supply שארית עמך בית.

L. 7. Supply יהוה אלהינו ותן.

L. 8. Supply בשמך באמת ושים.

L. 9. Only ל and ע are visible; they belong very likely to חלקנו עמהם.

Fol. 2. Recto.

עבדך מהרה תצמח קרנו תרום בישועתך	1
כי לישועתך קוינו כל היום [ם] באי מצמיח לנו	2
קרן ישועה * אב הרחמאן מלא	3
רחמים [.] להינו רחים עלינו	4
וקבל ברחמים את תפלתנו והושיענו	5
כי אל ל ותחינון אתה מלפנך	6
מ כי אב מלא	7
רח[מים] קם	8
.	

Ll. 1-3, end of fifteenth Eulogy, את צמח דוד. This Benediction, of course, is different in P, in which it forms part of the preceding, cp. on this Palestinian practice, *Jer. Ber.*, II, 4, 5 a; IV, 3, 8 a; *Jer. Taanit*, II, 2, 65 c.

L. 2. Y omits היום . . . כי and Am. כל היום, otherwise there are no important variations in the rituals.

Ll. 3 ff. Sixteenth Eulogy. The differences are too numerous to be listed. This ritual is perhaps nearest to I. The title אב הרחמאן (א) is found in Per. (*JQR.*, X, 610) all the others have שמע קולנו. The reconstructions are also conjectural.

L. 4. Perhaps we should supply שמע קולינו, and l. 5 ברצון.

L. 6. The Yod of ותחינון seems to be cancelled by a point.

L. 7. First word is probably מלכנו.

The last word of l. 8 is probably ריקם.

Fol. 2. Verso.

עינינו בשובך לנוך לציון ברחמים כמאז	1
בְּאֵי הַמַּחְזִיר שְׂכִינָתוֹ לְצִיּוֹן * מְוֹדִיִּם	2
אֲנַחְנוּ לָךְ שֹׂאתָה הוּא יי' אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹ	3
צוּר חַיֵּינוּ מִגֵּן יִשְׁעָ[נוּ] לְדוֹר	4
וְדוֹר וְדוֹר נֹדֶה לָּךְ יָד עַל חַיֵּינוּ	5
הַמְסוּרִים בִּידְךָ וְעַל ת	6
לָךְ וְ[עַל]	7
שֶׁבֶכְל	8
.	

Ll. 1-2. End of the Abodah, seventeenth Eulogy.

L. 1. לנוך, so Y, others omit; כמאז, so Y, I, and C; cp. Saadya in Baer, p. 99.

Ll. 2 ff. Eighteenth Eulogy, part of the Ḥazan.

L. 4. Before צור, A and S read (S צורנו) לעולם ועד; supply אתה הוא.

L. 5. First ודור cancelled by a line; supply נספר תהליך, the top of פ and ר in נספר is still visible.

L. 6. Supply very likely נשמותינו הפקודות.

Fol. 3. Recto.

חטאתינו למען שמך עזרינו אלהי ישעי[נו]	1
על דבר כבוד שמך והצלינו ונכפר על ח'	2
חטאתינו למען שמך אם עונות תשמור	3
יה מי יעמוד אם עונינו ענו בנו	4
עשה למען שמך כי רבו משובותינו	5
ל[ך חטא]נו * יתגדל ויתקדש שמו	6
דברא כר[עות]יה וי'	7
[.] וימליך מלכותיה ויצמח	8
. יה ויפרוק	9
. (?)	10

Fol. 3. Verso.

[ו]שירתא תושבחתא ניחמתא דאמירן בעלמה	1
ואמרו אמן * יהוה רחום יכפר עון ולא	2
ישחית והרבה להשיב אפו ולא יעיר כל	3
חמתו * יי[ה] הושיעה המלך יענינו [בי]ום	4
קראינו אשרי תמימי דרך ההולכים בתו'	5
בתורת יי[ה] אשרי יושב בתיך עו[ד] יהל[ל]וך	6
סל[ה] אשרי העם שכבה אשרי	7
אלהיו תהלה לדוד	8
[.] ואב[ר] רבה שמך ל[עולם]	9
. ך ואהללה	10

RECTO. Ll. 1-6. End of the supplications preceding the Half Kaddish. Every word is pointed and cancelled from עזרינו (l. 1) down to יעמוד (l. 4); many of the supplications must have come before and were repeated by mistake, see the exact order and wording on fol. 9 verso.

Ll. 6 ff. The Half Kaddish. Hardly enough is left for comparison, but as this Doxology occurs again in full, ff. 6b-7a, we shall examine it there.

L. 10. Some letters are still visible, but they are doubtful.

VERSO. Ll. 1-2. End of the Half Kaddish.

Ll. 2-8. והוא רחום followed by various Ashres. This occurs again 6a.

L. 6. Should be יושבי.

L. 7. After שכבה Massoretic Text has לו. The number of the Ashres and their arrangement are different in the various rituals.

Ll. 8 ff. Ps. 145.

Fol. 4. Recto.

- 1 חנון ורחם יי ארך אפים וגדל חסד טוב
 2 יי לכל ורחמיו על כל מעשיו ויודך יי
 3 כל מעשיך וחסידיך יברכוך כבוד מלכ'
 4 מלכותך יאמרו וגבורתך ידבירו להודיע
 5 לבני האדם גבורותיו וכבוד הדר מלכותו
 6 מלכותך מלכות עולמים וממשלתך
 7 בכל דור ודור סומך יי לכל הנופלים
 8 [.....ל]ל הכפופים עיני כל אליך [שברו]
 9 [.....ל]ל הם את אכלם בע[תו]....
 10 [.....ומשבי]ע ל[כ]ל.....

Fol. 4. Verso.

- 1 ויברך כל בשר שם קדשו לעלם ועד
 2 ואנחנו נברך יה מעתה ועד עולם הללו
 3 יה יי הללו יה אשרי שאל יעקב בעזרו
 4 סברו על יי אלהיו יי צבאות אשרי אר[ם]
 5 בוסח בך * ובא לציון גואל ולש[בי]
 6 פשע ביעקב נאם יי.....
 7 זאת בריתי אותם אמר יי רוחי אשר
 8 עליך ודברי אשר שמתי בפיו ל[א] ימ[ו]שו
 9 [.....ו] מפי זרעך ומפי זר[ע].....
 10 [.....עולם] וא[תה].....

RECTO. Continuation of Ps. 145, vv. 8-16.

L. 6. Before עולמים Massoretic Text has כל.

VERSO. Ll. 1-3. End of Psalm 145. 21. The Psalm is followed by two Ashres from Ps. 146. 5 and 84. 13.

Ll. 5-10. Ubâ le-Zion, with the Kēdushah. This section is practically alike in all rituals. It occurs in Am., § סה (Frumkin, I, 302); V, § צח (Hurwitz, 73); Abud. 67; K, § 14. 7 d; C 56, for Rosh ha-Shanah; in the other rituals at its regular place.

L. 6. Place under ובא לציון left blank.

L. 9. Supply מפיו at beginning and זרעך at the end of the line.

L. 10. Supply יהוה מעתה ועד. Then follows the Kēdushah.

Fol. 5. Recto.

- 1 ארעה זיו יקריה ותשאני רוח ואשמע אח'
 2 אחרי קול רעש גדול ברוך כבוד יי' ממקומו
 3 ונטלתי רוחא ושמעת בתרי קאל זיע סגיא
 4 דמשבחין ואמרין בריך יקרה דיי' מאתר
 5 בית שבנתיה יי' ימלוך לעולם ועד יי'
 6 מל[ב]ותיה לעלם ולעלמי עלמייא יי' צבאות
 7 אל[הי] אברהם יצחק וישראל אבותינו שמר
 8 זאת לעולם ליצר מחשבות לבב עמך . . .
 9 לבבם אליך והוא רחום יכפר עון ול[א] . . .
 10 [וה]רבה להשיב אפו ולא יעיר כל חמת[ו] .
 11 [א]תה יי' טוב וסלה ורב חסד לכל קוראין
 12 [צ]דקתך צדק לעולם ותורתך אמת מי אל
 13 [כמ]יך נושא עון ועובר על פשע לשאירית
 14 [נחל]תו ולא החזיק לעד אפו כי חפץ חסד
 15 [הוא י]שוב ירחמנו יכבוש עונותינו ותשליך
 16 [במ]צולות ים כל חטא[תם] [ליעק]ב

L. 1. End of the Targum of Isa. 6. 3; then follows Ezek. 3. 12, with its Targum, ll. 2-5; Exod. 15. 18 also with its Targum, ll. 5-6.

L. 6. After מלכותיה קאם has been accidentally left out. צבאות is cancelled by points.

L. 8. Supply והכן.

L. 9. Supply ישחית.

L. 10. Supply בי.

Ll. 12-16, passage from Micah 7. 18-19, omitted in almost all rituals; it is found in Saadya, M, and Y. M, however, leaves out from לשאירית (13) to ישוב (l. 15).

L. 16. Supply תחן אמת, Mic. 7. 20.

Fol. 5. Verso.

- 1 יי' צבאות עמנו משגב לנו אל[הי יעקב סלה]
 2 קדם ברוך יי' יום יום יעמוס לנו האל יש'
 3 ישועתינו סלה יי' צבאות אשרי אדם
 4 בוטח לו בך יי' הושיעה המלך יענינו ביום
 5 קראינו עשה עמנו אות לטובה ויראו שונאי

- 6 ויבושו כי אתה יי' עזרתני ונחמתני
 7 ברוך אלהינו ברוך אדונינו שבראנו ל[כבודו]
 8 [וה] בדילנו מן התועים ונתן לנו את תורתו
 9 [...] אמ[ת] וחי עולם נטעה בתוכינו הרחמן
 10 [...] לבינו לתורתו ויטע בלבינו אהבת[ו]
 11 [ויר] אתו לעובדו ולעשות רצונו בלבב ש[לם]
 12 [...] בנפש חפצה למען לא נגע לריק ולא ...
 13 לבהלה כן יהי רצון מלפניך יי' אלהי ואלהי
 14 אבותי שנשמור חקך בעולם שנחיה ...
 15 ונירש טובה וברכה לימות המשיח ול[חיי]
 16 העולם הבא [כי את] אבינו כי אברהם לא יד'

ידענו

Note the insertion written in the upper margin, it is to be inserted in l. 3 at the place where the sign occurs.

L. 2. V inserts the section ברוך . . . סלה after קראינו of l. 5; besides, V adds ישועתינו after ועזרתנו.

L. 4. After בך Saadya seems to introduce another section למען יזמרך כבוד (Frumkin, I, 317).

Ll. 4-6. ונחמתנו יהוה omitted in Y. The quotation from Ps. 86. 17. "עשה וגו'" is an addition not found elsewhere.

L. 6. טוב is cancelled by points.

L. 7. Before ברוך אדונינו הוא; is found only in Y, which, besides, adds ברוך בוראנו before שבראנו.

Ll. 8-9. Am. omits . . . אמת ונתן.

L. 8. Supply תורתו generally omitted in the other rituals.

L. 9. Supply על ידי משה רבינו; after אמת Y adds נטעה; נטע should be נטע, so M, Y, I; others simply הוא.

L. 10 Supply בתו" for לתלמוד תורתו Y. others mostly יפתח. ויטע, so I (Y נטע), M ויתן, Am. A, S and Abud. וישם, other variants in Baer, 128.

L. 11. "לעש" רצ" for "לעש" רצ" ברצונו ולעבדו Y; לעובדו ולעשות רצ" ולעבדו.

L. 12. Supply נלד; ובנפש חפצה, so M, Y, I; others omit.

Ll. 13-14. Others אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו.

L. 14. Supply בעולם or ונזכה; ונראה; others add הזה after בעולם.

Ll. 14-15. שנחיה וברכה M omits; the various rituals read differently.

L. 16. Beginning of a section not found at this place in any of the other rituals.

Fol. 6. Recto.

- 1 ישכנו בה לעדי עד ולנצח נצחים יי' עו
 2 לעמו יתן יי' יברך את עמו בשלום * * *
 3 **נְבַתְרֵי צְלוֹת מִנְחָה לְחַזֵּל יִבְחַדֵּי**
 4 אֶלְחֹץ וְהוּא רַחוּם יִכְפֹּר עוֹן וְלֹא יִשְׁחִית וְהִרְבֵּה
 5 לְהַשִּׁיב אָפּוֹ וְלֹא יַעִיר כָּל חַמְתּוֹ * יי' הוֹשִׁיעָה
 6 הַמֶּלֶךְ יַעֲנִינוּ בְּיוֹם קִרְאֵינוּ אֲשֶׁרִי תְּמִימֵי ד'
 7 דֶּרֶךְ הַהוֹלָכִים בְּתוֹרַת יי' אֲשֶׁרִי יוֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתִיךְ
 8 עוֹד יִהְלָלוּךְ סֵלָה * אֲשֶׁרִי הָעַם שִׁי' אֶל[היו]
 9 תִּהְלֶה לְדוֹר אֲרוֹמָמְךְ אֱלֹהֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ ו[אברך]
 10 שִׁמְךְ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד בְּכָל יוֹם אֲבָרְכְךָ וְאֶהְלֶלָה
 11 שִׁמְךְ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד גָּדוֹל יי' וּמֵהוֹלָל מְאֹד וְלִג'
 12 וּל[ג]דְּלָתוֹ אֵין חֶקֶר דּוֹר לְדוֹר יִשְׁבַח מַעֲשֵׂיךְ וּג'
 13 [וג]בּוֹרוֹתֶיךָ יִגִּידוּ הֵדֵר כְּבוֹד הוֹדִיךְ וּדְבָרֵי נֶפֶ'
 14 [נִפְלְאוֹת]יךְ אֲשִׁיחָה וְעוֹזוֹ נוֹרְאוֹתֶיךָ יֹאמְרוּ
 15 [וּגְדוֹלָתְךָ א]סְפָרְנָה זִכְרֵךְ רַב טוֹבֶךָ יִבְעִי וְצִדְקָתְךָ
 16 [יִרְנְנוּ חַנּוּ] וְרַחוּם אֲרֶךְ אֲפִים וְגָדֵל חֶסֶד טוֹב

Ll. 1-2. See also fol. 7 b.

L. 3. Rubric in Arabic. Beginning of the Minḥah Service.

L. 4. **וְהוּא רַחוּם** followed by various Ashres and by Ps. 145 (l. 9) as on fol. 3 b.

L. 8. After Selāh an insertion must be made as the sign referring to the margin is there ; it should be : **אֲשֶׁרִי הָעַם שִׁכְבָּה לוֹ** as on fol. 3 b.

L. 9. Ps. 145.

Fol. 6. Verso.

- 1 יי לבל ורחמיו על כל מעשיו יודוך יי כל
 2 מעשיך וחסידיך יברכוכה כבוד מלכותך
 3 יאמרו וגבורתך ידבירו להודיע לבני האדם
 4 גבורותיו וכבוד הדר מלכותו מלכותך מלכות
 5 כל עולמים וממשלתך בכל דור ודור סומך
 6 יי לכל הנפלים הנופלים וזוקק לכל הכפופים
 7 עיני כול אליך יספירו ואחה נותן להם את אכלם
 8 בעתו פותיח את ידיך ומשביע לכל הי רצון
 9 [צדיק] יי בכל דרכיו וחסיד בכל מעשיו ק"
 10 [קרוב יי] לכל קוראיו לכל אשר יקראוהו באמת
 11 [רצון יר] או יעשה ואת שועתם ישמע ויוש'
 12 [ו] יושעים שומר יי את כל אוהביו ואת כל הר'
 13 הרשעים ישמיד תהלת יי ידבר פה ויברך כל
 14 בשר בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד ואנחנו נברך
 15 יה מעתה ועד עולם הללו יה אשרי שאל[יעקב]
 16 בעזרו סברו על יי אשרי אדם בוטח[בך]
 17 יתנדרל ויתקדש שמייה רבה בעל[מה די]
 בר[א]

Continuation of Ps. 145.

L. 6. הנפלים cancelled by points.

L. 7. יספירו Massoretic Text ישברו.

Ll. 15-16. Same Biblical quotation as on 4 b, ll. 3 and 4.

L. 17. With l. 17 begins the Kaddish de-Rabbanan. The Kaddish in whole or in part occurs in all rituals. A (P. B., p. 86, Baer, 127, 153); S (p. 372); I (p. 74); Y (p. 95, 100; cp. also Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 305); V (Hurwitz, p. 64); Abud. (p. 40); M (*loc. cit.*); Ar. (pp. 5 b, 22 b, 23 a); Am. (§ 12, Frumkin, I, 184; § 108, Frumkin, I, 317); Saadya (in Frumkin, I, 184 note 2); K (§ 7, 2 b-d).

L. 17. After רבה (רבא) Y adds אמן see Abud.

Fol. 7. Recto.

- 1 ברא כרעותיה וימליך מלכותיה ויצמח
 2 פורקניה ויקרב משיחיה ויפרוק עמיה
 3 ברחמתיה בחייבון וביומיבון ובחייהון דכל
 4 בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב "אמן יהי
 5 שמייה רבה מברך לעאלם ולעאלמי עאלמיא
 6 יתברך וישתבח יתכבד יתרומם יתעלה יתנשא
 7 יתהדר יתהלל שמייה דקדושה בריך הוא לעי[א]
 8 לעילא מכל ברכתא שירתא חושבכתא
 9 דאמירן בעאלמה ואמרו "אמן" על
 10 ועל תלמידיהון ועל כל תלמידי תלמיד [יהון]
 11 דעסיקין באורייתא קדישא די באתרא הדין . . .
 12 בכל אתר ואתר יהי להון ולכון ולנא שלם וחנו[א]
 13 [ו]חסדא מן קדם אלהא דשמיא ואמרו אמן
 14 יהי שלמה רבא מן שמיא חיים ופדות ורווח
 15 לנו ולכל ישראל ואמרו אמן "עושה
 16 שלום במרומו וברחמיו הרבים [על] כל

L. 1. The words *ברא כרעותיה* are so faint as to be almost illegible; but see 3 a, 6. *משיחיה* *ויצמח*, so Y, S, Ar., and Abud.

L. 2. *ויפרוק עמיה*, so M and Y.

L. 3. *ובחייהון דכל*, so M and Y; others *כל בחיי*. Abud. omits . . . "ישראל".

L. 4. After *קריב* there are two points; *אמן*, therefore, belongs to the following sentence; Y reads *אמן יהא*. *אמן קריב ואמרו אמן*, cp. Abud. and K.

L. 5. Some add *אמן*, see K.

L. 6. The verbs are practically alike in all rituals, but the order is different; Am. and Saadya read *יתקלם* instead of *יתהלל*; this ritual seems to have *יתכבד* in the place of *יתפאר*.

L. 7. On *הוא בריך*, see Abud., p. 42; *לעילא* is here repeated as in Y.

L. 8. Supply *ונחמתא* at the end of the line.

L. 9. Supply *ישראל ועל רבנן*; M omits *ישראל*.

L. 10. Supply probably *דיתבין*, with I, or, *כל מן* with the other rituals. Abud. and Y add nothing.

L. 11. *קדישא*; Abud. positively condemns this form although used by many; he insists that we should read *קדישתא*; *קדישתא* is found in I and S and bracketed in Y. At the end of the line supply *ודי*.

L. 12. A omits *לנא*, and most authorities also *לכון*; M has *להון לכון*; I *להון ולכון*; S *לנא ולכון*; Y *להון ולנא* in Dalman *(לכון להון ולנא)*; Abud. omits all. *שלם* should be *שלמא*, M, S, and Y omit.

Ll. 13-14. Differences between rituals too numerous to be listed. Our ritual does not correspond to any other.

L. 15. Supply another substantive.

L. 16. Other rituals insert **מְרוֹמֵי הוּא**; A omits **בְּרַחְמֵי** and all rituals omit what comes between **בְּרַחְמֵי** and **יַעֲשֶׂה** of next page, l. 1, ... **הַרְבִּים** is not absolutely certain.

Fol. 7. Verso.

- כל עמים הוא יעשה עלינו ועל כל עמו 1
 בית ישראל וקיים יי' עוז לעמו יתן 2
 יברך את עמו בשלום * יהי יי' אלהינו עמנו 3
 כאשר היה עם אבותינו אל יעזובינו ואל י' 4
 יטשינו להטות להטות לבבינו אליו וללכת 5
 בכל דרכיו ולשמור חוקיו ומצותיו אשר 6
 צוה את אבותינו וינהי דברי אלה אשר 7
 התחננתי לפני קרובים אל יי' אלהינו יומם 8
 ללכת בכל דרכיו לעשות משפט עבדו 9
 עמו ישראל דבר יום ביומו למען 10
 [דע]ת כל עמי הארץ כי יי' הוא האלהים אין 11
 עוד לא ימוש ספר התורה הזה מפיד וה' 12
 והנית בו יומם ולילה למען תשמור לעשות 13
 ככל הכתוב בו כי אז תצליח את דרכיך . . 14
 תשכיל הלא ציוויתך חוק ואמין אל תערוין 15
 ואל תחת כי עמך יי' אלהיך בכל אשר [תלך] 16

כמלה

L. 1. **שְׁלוֹם** עלינו repeated by mistake; after **יַעֲשֶׂה** most rituals read **ועל כל ישראל**.

Ll. 3-12. Quotation from 1 Kings 8. 57-60; this and following section quoted from Joshua 1. 8 (ll. 12-16) are not found in this connexion in the other rituals. It occurs in Ar. at the end of the Service for the second day after Rosh ha-Shanah, 31 a.

L. 3. Note **י**, not **י**; besides, it seems to be cancelled by a point, although the point is too weak to be identified positively.

L. 5. First **להטות** cancelled by points.

L. 6. Massoretic Text reads **מצותיו וחוקיו ומשפטיו**.

L. 7. **וינהי** a mistake for **וינהי**.

L. 8. After **לפני** we should add **יהוה** as in the biblical text.

L. 9. Supply **ולילה**; **ללכת בכל דרכיו** not found in the biblical text.

L. 10. Supply **ומשפט**.

L. 14. Supply **ואז**.

L. 16. Supply **תלך**.

Fol. 8. Recto.

1	כמלת צלאת שחרית בעון אללה תעאלא
2 ואמא יום אתנין ויום אלכמים
3	כמא מן אתפלא יבתדא אלחון
4	ויקרא ועתה יי' אלהינו אשר הוציאת את
5	עמך ישראל מארץ מצרים ותעשה לך
6	שם כהיום הזה חטאנו רשענו יי' ככל
7	צדקותיך ישוב נא אפך וחמתך מעירך
8	יהר מירושלים הר קדשך כי בחטאינו]
9	ובעונות אבותינו ירושלים ועמך [לחרפה]
10	לכל סביבותינו ועתה שמע אלהינו אל]
11	תפלת עבדך ואל תחנוניו והאר פניך [על]
12	מקדשך השמים הטא אלי אונך למען יי'
13	[פ]קח יי' עיניך וראה את שממותנו והעיר
14	[אש]ר נקרא שמך כי לא על צדקותינו אנחנו
15	[מפי]לים תחנונינו לפניך כי על רחמיך
16	[הרבי]ם יי' שמעה יי' סלחה יי' ה[קשי]ברה

Ll. 1-3. Rubric in Arabic; the first word of l. 2 is too faint to be read with certainty, but it seems to be ותופיק הו. Likewise after כמא, l. 3, two or three words cannot be read. We would expect some such meaning as, 'after they have read the Tephillah'. The rubric must have been marked with the usual signs, but these are no longer visible. The arrangement of the Service for Mondays and Thursdays is similar to the one indicated by Am., § צח (Frumkin, I, 393).

Ll. 4 ff. Passage from Dan. 9. 15-19. הוציאת for הוציאתא.

L. 5. After מצרים biblical text has ביד חזקה.

L. 8. יהר is a mistake and was probably cancelled by points or by a dash no longer visible.

L. 12. After השמים biblical text reads למען אדני, but omits these two words after אונך. Biblical text has also אלהי for אלי, and adds ושמע after אונך.

L. 13. יהוה omitted in biblical text.

L. 14. After עמך biblical text has עליה.

L. 16. The final He is extended according to its cursive form.

Fol. 8. Verso.

- 1 ועשה אל תאחר למענך אלהי כי שמך
 2 על עירך ועל עמך * עֲלֵיךָ אֲבִינוּ
 3 ענינו ענינו אלהי ישעינו ענינו ענינו
 4 גואלנו ענינו ענינו הודינו והדרינו
 5 ענינו ענינו ושא לכל חטאתינו ענינו
 6 אלהי אברהם אבינו ענינו ופחד יצחק ענינו
 7 ענינו אביר יעקב ענינו ענינו עזרת הש'
 8 [הש] בטים ענינו ענינו משגב האמות ענינו
 9 הגדול הגבור והנורא ענינו ענינו
 10 רוחינו ענינו אֵל אֲרֶךְ אַפִּים
 11 .. בעל הרחמים נקראת גדולת רחמיו
 12 [ו] חסדיך הודעת לעניו מקדם וכן כתוב
 13 וירד יי' בענן ויתיצב עמו שם ויקרא ב [שם]
 14 יי' ושם נאמר * וַיִּשְׁבְּרָהּ יי' על פניו [ויקרא]
 15 יי' יי' אל רחום וחנון ארך אפים ורב חסד
 16 ואמת נוצר חסד לאלפים נושא עון . . .
 וחטאה .

L. 1. After שמך biblical text has נקרא.

Ll. 2-10. *Seliḥah Anenu*. In most rituals it is alphabetical. The present recension is entirely different from any found in the rituals, and is much simpler. See Am., § קיז (Frumkin, II, 313). Most rituals have it for the Day of Atonement. Cp. Baer, 599.

L. 9. Supply ענינו at the beginning of the line.

L. 10. The word and letters to be supplied are not clear; the letter preceding רוחינו is either ת or ע, in the latter case it would be probably נערוֹתֵינוּ, then, some such word as שומר should precede; but it is too doubtful to allow any positive conjecture. אל ארך אפים has here a different form.

L. 11. Supply אתה, the lower portion of ה seems to be visible.

Ll. 13 ff. Exod. 34. 5-9.

L. 16. Supply ופשע.

Fol. 9. Recto.

- 1 וחטאה ונקח וסלחת לעונינו ולחטאתינו
 2 ונחלתנו * אָנָּא אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו
 3 תבוא לפניך תפלתינו ואל תתעלם מלבינו
 4 מתחתינו שאין אנו עוי פנים וקשי עורף
 5 שנאמר לפניך צדיקים אנחנו ולא חטאנו
 6 אבל חטאנו אנחנו ואבותינו אשמונו בנדנו
 7 גזלנו דברנו דופי העוינו והרשענו [דנו]
 8 חמסנו טפלנו שקר יעצנו רע כו[בנו]
 9 לצנו מרינו נאצנו סרנו ע[וינו]
 10 צררנו קשינו עורף רשענו ש[חתנו]
 11 תעינו סרנו ממצותיך הטובים
 12 וממשפטריך הישרים ולא שוה לנו ** וא[תה]
 13 צדיק על כל הבא עלינו כי אמת עשית
 14 ואנחנו הרשענו * תָּם יכרעו עלי ונחם
 15 ויקול אבינו מלבינו בעד אן רפע ונהו
 16 מן אלארין אפינו מלבינו חנינו וענינו ואם

L. 1. After **ומלחה** Am. adds many other supplications.

Ll. 2-14. First part of the Confession of Sins. The Confession occurs in full on fol. 13 b. 4 Here we note only the differences between the two folios.

L. 4. **מתחתינו** should be **מתחנתינו**, cp. 13 b. 6; before **שאין** 13 b. 6 reads **לפי**.

L. 5. After **לפניך** 13 b. 8 adds **מלבינו**.

L. 9. **מרינו**, 13 b. 12, reads **מוררנו**. Both verbs occur in many rituals; after **עוינו**, supply **פשענו**, as in 13 b. 12.

Ll. 10-11. 13 b. 14 has three verbs beginning with **ת** as also the other rituals; at an earlier date only one verb probably occurred.

L. 14. Should be **ונחם**.

L. 15. Should be **ונחם**.

Ll. 14 ff. This rubric is almost identical with Am., § **קטז** (Frumkin, II, 308); for the corresponding passage on these two days, see Am., § **סה** (Frumkin, I, 302), Y, p. 62.

Fol. 9. Verso.

- 1 עונות תשמוד יה יי מי יעמוד[כי]
 2 עמך הסליחה למען תורא ברוגז רחם
 3 תזכור ברוגז רחמיך זכור כי הוא ידע
 4 יצרינו זכור כי עפר אנחנו עזרינו אלהי
 5 ישעינו על דבר כבוד שמך והצילינו וב'
 6 וכפר על חטאתינו למען שמך אם עונינו
 7 ענו בנו יי עשה למען שמך כי רבו כי רבו
 8 [משו]בותינו לך חטאנו * לַמִּנְצָח מוֹמֹר
 9 יי ביום צרה ישגבך
 10 שם אלה דיעקב ישלח עורך מקדש
 11 יסעך יזכור כל מנחותיך ועולתך
 12 [ידש]נה סלה יתן לך כלבבך וכל עצתך ימלא
 13 [נר]נה בישועתיך ובשם אלהינו נדגול ימלא
 14 יי כל משאלותיך עתה ידעתי כי הושיע [יי]
 15 משיחו יעניהו משמי קדשו וגבורות [ישע] ימינו

Ll. 1-8, see fol. 3 a. 1-6. This occurs with few variations also in Y, I, and S; they omit quotations from Jer. 14. 7, ll. 6-8. After this they recite the Half Kaddish.

L. 7. ~~כי רבו~~ cancelled by a dash.

L. 8. Ps. 20.

L. 9. Supply יענך.

L. 10. The missing word is probably ישגבך, which had been wrongly repeated. אלה דיעקב should be of course אלהי יעקב.

L. 11. Supply ומציון.

Fol. 10. Recto.

- 1 חייבין עליהם עשה ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין
 2 לא תעשה שנתק לעשה ועל חטאים שאנו
 3 חייבין עליהם לא תעשה ועל חטאים שאנו
 4 תייבין עליה[ם קר]בן ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין
 5 עליהם מלקות [ארב]עים ועל חטאים שאנו ח'
 6 חי [יבין] עליהן כרת ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין
 7 ע[ליה]ן מיתה בידי שמים ועל חטאים שאנו
 8 חייבין עליהן ארבע מיתות בית ד[ין חנ]ק הרג
 9 שריפה סקילה על מצות עשה [ועל מצו]ת
 10 לא תעשה ועל הגלויים לנו ועל שאינן גלויים
 11 לנו את הגלויים לנו ואת שאינן גלויים לנו כבר
 12 [אמר]נום לפניך ואת שאינ[ן] גלויים לנו . . .
 13 [גל]וי וידוע לפני כסא כבודך וח[ט]אנו [על]
 14 כולם כדבר שנ"ה [ננסתר]ות ליהוה אלהינו
 15 [והננ] לות לנו ולבנינו עד עולם לעשות
 16 [את כל] דברי התורה הזאת * וְדוֹר עֲבָדְךָ

Ll. 1-12 are a duplicate of fol. 14 b. 5 ff.; see the notes on the latter place. Note that in this section there is a constant variation between עליהם and עליהן; once we find even עליהם, l. 3. The reconstruction of the missing words in this page can easily be made from 14 b.

L. 11. שאינן גלויים לנו is omitted in 14 b. 16; it is a wrong insertion due to dittography with preceding or following line.

L. 12. Supply הכל with Am.

Ll. 13-14. גלוי שני, V, A, S, R read לפניך הם גלויים וידועים שני. הכל גלוי לפניך כדבר שני"ה. Am. (Frumkin, II, 341) Abud. reads (p. 133) הכל גלוי וצפוי לפניך ה' אלהינו כמו שנאמר; he mentions the fact that many inserted between וחטאנו על כלם and אלהינו; he condemns this addition. This ritual reproduces this rejected reading.

Ll. 14-16. Quotations from Deut. 29, 28. The section ודור עבדך is generally not found in the rituals in this place. It is, however, in A and S when the Confession is repeated in the Evening Service; it is also found in R after the Confession of the Morning Service (p. 137 b).

Fol. 10. Verso.

- 1 אמר לפניך שגיאות מה יבין מנסתרות
 2 נקיני נקיני יי' אלהינו מכל פשעינו וטה'

- 3 וטהרינו מכל טמאותינו וזרוק עלינו מ'
 4 מים טהורים וטהרינו [ב]כתוב על ידי
 5 נביאך וזרקתי עליכם ו[טהר]תים מכל ט'
 6 טמאותיכם ומכל גלולים אטהר אתכם]ם*
 7 בִּי אֱתָה סֹלֶחַן לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מִן הָעוֹלָם
 8 ומוחל[ן] לש[ב]טי ישורון ודברך אמת וקיים
 9 לנו [ומב]ל עדיך אין לנו מלך מוחל וסולה
 10 לע[ונות עמו] ישראל אתה אֱלֹהִי עַד שְׁלֹא
 11 [נוצר]תי איני כדאי ועֲבָשׁוּ ועבשו שנו'
 12 שנוצרתִי כאלו לא נוצרתי עפר אני בחי[י]
 13 [קל] וחול[מר] במיתתי הרי אני לפניך יי[אלהי]
 14 . . . מ[לא] בושה וכלמה יהי רצון מלפניך
 15 יי[אלהי] שלא אחטא מה שחטתי ומה ש . . .
 16 ומה שעויתי מרוק ומחול ברחמיך הר[בים]
 אבל

L. 1. Quotation from Ps. 19. 13; *מי* is of course a mistake for *מי*.

L. 5-6. Quotation from Ezek. 36. 25. *עליכם* should be *עליכם*; note the *mater lectionis* in *וטהרתי* for *וטהרתם*.

L. 7. This continues l. 16 of preceding folio, in most rituals. Am. omits all from 10a, 16-19b, l. 10. R does not seem to have either of the following two sections.

L. 8. בכל דור ודור M, V, and Abud. omit; A, S read *דור ודור* לנו . . .

L. 10. We might supply possibly *לעמך כל בית*, cp. 7b, ll. 1-2. *אלא* is written above the line. *אלהי*, although a title, is not written in square letters. M and O omit all this line down to *אתה*; V, S omit down to *ישראל*.

L. 11. First *ועבשו* is cancelled by points.

L. 13. So Abud.; *יהוה אל* omitted in the other rituals: S amplifies *יהוה אלהי ואלהי אבותי*.

L. 14. Supply *בכלי* with the other rituals.

L. 15. After *אלהי* A, S, Abud. read *ואלהי אבותי*; V has plural suffixes *ואלהינו* and *ואלהי אבותינו*; Am. *אלהינו* simply. After *אחטא* Am., M, A, S, add *שחטתי* for *שחטתי* עור.

Ll. 15-16. *שעויתי* ומה . . . not found in the other rituals; verb to be supplied at the end of l. 15 is uncertain, but possibly *שפשעתי* מרוק so Am. and V; A and S read *מרק*; M has *מחה*; O has *מחוק*. *ומחול* is omitted in all rituals.

Fol. II. Recto.

- 1 אבל לא ידי יסורין^ו כמלת צלאת מנחה יום
 2 אלמעל * נִתְחַדִּי צִלְאָתָּ מְעַרְיָב לִיְלֵלָה
 3 צוֹם כְּפֹר יִבְחֵדִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִזְמֹר שִׁיר לַיּוֹם
 4 הַשְּׁבִיט וְצִיּוֹ וְיִצְלִי בָךְ צִלְאָתָּ אִשְׁבֶּת חֲתִי יָקָפוּ
 5 לַלְעֲפִירָה יִצְלִי וּבִהְרָא יִי שְׁפָחִי חֲפָחָה וּפִי
 6 יִגִּיד תְּהִלָּתְךָ בְּאֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵי
 7 אֲבִרָהֶם וְאֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל
 8 הַגָּדוֹל הַגְּבוּר וְהַנּוֹרָא אֵל עֲלִיוֹן גּוֹמֵל חֲסִדִּים
 9 טוֹבִים קוֹנֵה הַכּוֹל וְזוֹכֵר חֲסִדֵי אֲבוֹת וּמַבִּיא
 10 גּוֹאֵל לְבָנֵי בְנֵיהֶם לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ בְּאֵה[בָּה] זְכוּרֵינוּ
 11 לְחַיִּים אֵל מֶלֶךְ חַפֵּץ בְּחַיִּים וּבְתַכְנִינוּ בַּסֵּפֶר
 12 חַיִּים לְמַעַן אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים מֶלֶךְ חַי וְ...
 13 בְּאֵי מִנְּ אֲבִרָהֶם * אַתָּה גְּבוּר לְעוֹלָם יִי
 14 מַחִיָּה מַתִּים אַתָּה רַב לְהוֹשִׁיעַ מוֹר[וֹר]
 15 [הַ]טֵּל מִכֻּלְּךָ חַיִּים בַּחֲסֵד מַחִיָּה מַתִּים בְּרַח'
 16 בְּרַחֲמֵיךָ רַבִּים סוֹמֵךְ נּוֹפְלִים וְרוֹפֵא חוֹלִים
 17 [וּמַ]ת[וֹ]ת[וֹ] אֲסוּרִים וּמִשְׁעָן לְאַבְיוֹנִים וּמִקִּים

L. 1. End of the Minḥah Service. After יסורין A and S add וחלים רעים; M and V have still further additions. Probably there were also some words left out in this ritual, as the sign referring to the margin is found after יסורין, but no trace of such words is now visible.

Ll. 2-5. Rubric in Arabic: as far as the Amidah the Service is the same as on Sabbath.

L. 4. השבת should be אשבת. On the Amidah for Yom Kippur, see A, *Service Book*, I, p. 22; Baer, 410; Frumkin, II, 325; S. Mahzor, 145; O, III, 37; I, Hasda, p. 38; Am., §§ קה and קנא (Frumkin, II, 292, 344); V, § 351 (Hurwitz, p. 389); Abud., 140, col. 2; R, 61 a; C, Rosh ha-Shanah, 30 b; Ar., 59 a.

L. 8. הגדול repeated by mistake.

L. 10. לזרעם אחריהם, Saadya reads (Frumkin, I, 34, א).

L. 11. אל omitted in the other rituals; after מלך Per. adds רחמן, and after בחיים it adds אלהים חיים.

L. 12. Instead of למענך, Persian reads לפניך חי. אלהים we find a great variety of readings in the rituals: A, S מלך עוזר

אל חי מלך (אל חי (מלך R) גואל עוזר I, R ; אלהים (אל) חי Am. עוזר ; Per. מלך אל חי גואל עוזר, &c. It is difficult to know what word should be supplied at the end of the line, מנן or ומושיע.

Ll. 14-15. Like S ; Am., V, and A omit הטל מוריד.

Ll. 17. משען לאביונים, so Saadya (Frumkin, II, 237) and Per. (JQR., X, 606) omitted in all the other rituals.

Fol. II. Verso.

- 1 אמונתו לשיני עפר ומחזיר נשמות לפגרים
- 2 מתים מי כמוכה בעל הגבורות ומי דומה
- 3 לך אֵבֶּ הַרְחֵמָאן מֵלֵא רַחֲמִים זֹכִיר יִצְחָק
- 4 בִּרְחֻמִּים לַחַיִּים וְנֶאֱמַן אֶתָּה לַהֲחִיּוֹת מֵיָתִים
- 5 בְּאֵיִךְ מַחֲיִה חַמְתִּים * זְקָדִישׁ וְנַעֲרִיצָךְ
- 6 וְנִשְׁלַשׁ לְךָ קְדוּשָׁה מְשׁוּשֶׁלֶת כְּדָבָר שֵׁנ״ עַל
- 7 יָד נְבִיאִךְ וְקֵרָא זֶה אֵל זֶה וְאָמַר קֶקֶץ יִי
- 8 צְבָאוֹת מֵלֵא כָל הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ כְּבוֹדוֹ וְהוֹדוֹ
- 9 וְגִדְלוֹ מֵלֵא עוֹלָם וּמִשְׁרָתוֹ שׁוֹאֲלִים אִיָּה מ׳
- 10 מְקוֹם כְּבוֹדוֹ לַהֲעֲרִיצוֹ : מִשְׁבַּחַן וְאוֹמְרִין בְּרוּךְ
- 11 כְּבוֹד יִי מִמְּקוֹמוֹ * מִמְּקוֹמָךְ מִלְּבִינוֹ תוֹ
- 12 תּוֹפִיעַ וְתַמְלוֹךְ עֲלֵינוּ מִהֲרָה כִּי מַח־[ב]יָם
- 13 אֲנִי[ו] לִישַׁעַךְ מִתִּי תַמְלוֹךְ בְּצִיּוֹן * בִּקְרֹב
- 14 [ז] בַּחַיִּינוֹ וּבִימֵינוֹ תִּשְׁבֹּן[ז]
- 15 תַּתְּנֵן[דָּל] וְתַתְּקִדֵּשׁ בַּחוּךְ מִקְהֵלוֹת יְרוּשָׁלָּיִם[ים]
- 16 עִירָךְ לַעֲרִי עַד וְלִנְצָה נִצָּחִים וְעַיִן[נִינוֹ]

תְּרַאֲנֵי[ה]

Ll. 1-2. מַתִּים וּמַחְזִיר not found in the other rituals.

L. 3. After לך other rituals add : (V, R לנו) מִלֵּךְ מִמֵּית וּמַחְיָה וּמַצְמִיָּה (לנו V, R) מִלֵּךְ מִמֵּית וּמַחְיָה וּמַצְמִיָּה. Then begins the special addition for the ten Penitential days, which in all rituals is introduced by מִי כְמוֹךְ. הַרְחֵמָאן, note spelling for הַרְחֵמָאן, thus Am., Per., S, C, Ar., Abud. (141. 1); הַרְחֵמָאן, V, A, I, R. See Baer, 384. מֵלֵא רַחֲמִים, not found in the other rituals.

Ll. 4. בִּרְחֻמִּים לַחַיִּים, so Am., Ar., C, Abud. ; the others invert לַחַיִּים בִּרְחֻמִּים. Persian reads differently (JQR., X, 614).

L. 5. Third Eulogy, extends down to 13 b, l. 15. For the section down to 12 a, l. 3, the differences with the other rituals are too numerous to be

listed. We give only the variants from M and Y with which it is very similar. ונעריצך, M נמליכה.

L. 6. משולשת should be משישלת. האמור M and Y שנ".

L. 8. וחודו, M omits.

L. 9. גדלו, Y omits. After שואלים, Y adds זה לזה.

L. 10. לעומתם M inserts מושבחין before להעריצו, Y omits. See Abud. (64, l. 1).

L. 12. ותתנשא, Y adds חופיע, M and Y omit; מוהרה.

Ll. 13-14. (Exclusively) בחיינו . . . בקרוב, M and Y omit; reconstruction doubtful. לישעך, M and Y omit and read: M אנחנו לך, and Y אנו לך.

L. 15. מקהלות, M and Y omit.

L. 16. לדור ודור, M and Y לעדי עד.

Fol. 12. Recto.

תראינה במלכות עוון כדבר שנ" על ידי	1
דוד משיח צדקך * ימלך יי' לעולם	2
אלהיך ציון לדור ודור הללו יה * לְדֹרֶךְ ודור	3
המליכו לאל כי הוא לבדו מלך מרום וקדוש הוא	4
ושבחך יי' אלהינו לא ימוש לעולם ועד כי אל	5
מלך גדול וקדוש אתה * וְבִבְּךָ תן פחדך יי'	6
אלהינו על כל מעשיך ואימתך על כל מא	7
שברת ויראוך כל המעשיך וישתחוו לפניך	8
כל הברואים ויעשו כולם אגודה אחת [.]	9
רצונך בליבב שלום כמו שידענו [.]	10
שהשלטון מלפניך עוז בידך וגבורה בימיך	11
ושמך נורא על ^ו מא שברת * וְבִבְּךָ תן כבוד ^ו כל	12
לעמך תחלה ליריאיך תקוה לדורשיך פת'	13
פתחון פה למוחלים לך שמחה לאר[צ]ך	14
[ש]שון לעירך צמיחת קרן לדוד עבדך וערי'	15
[ועריכ]ת ניר לבן ישי משיחך במהרה ב'	16

L. 1. האמור בשירי קדישך, Y האמור בדברי קדישך, M שנ".

L. 2. After דוד, Y adds עבדך.

Ll. 3-6. This section is evidently taken from Am. (Frumkin, I, 236, § כג) who, however, gives it as the regular third Eulogy for work days.

It is also very close to I and Ar. In the other rituals the end is the same but the beginning is different, while in Abud. and O the beginning is similar but the end disagrees; C is entirely different.

L. 4. המליכו, so Am., Ar.; I נמליך. מלך Am., I, Ar. omit. הוא Am. and I omit.

L. 5. יהוה omitted in most rituals; after אלהינו others rituals add מפינו. לעולם ועד, M and Y omit. אל, Am. omits. The Yemen recension is given in Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, p. 306.

L. 7. מא, others correctly מה.

L. 8. שברת for שבראת. מעשיך should be either מעשים or המעשים with the other rituals.

L. 9. Supply לעשות.

L. 10. שלום, others שלם; supply יהוה אלהינו.

L. 11. מלפניך, so Y, others לפניך.

L. 12. the last two letters having been damaged by a tear were written above, as the word was not sufficiently legible the whole word was written in the margin. After על read כל, which is put in the margin. שברת for שבראת, see l. 8.

L. 13. תקוה, Am., M, S, Ar. read טובה. ל עמך, Y reads יהוה לעמך.

Fol. 12. Verso.

בימינו ♦ ואז צדיקים יראו וישמחו וישרים	1
יעלוו וחסידים ברנה יגילו ועולתה תקבון	2
פיה וכל הרשעה כולה כעשן תכלה כי תעביר	3
ממ=ממשלת זדון מן הארץ ומלכות העליזה תע'	4
תעקר ותשבר ממקומה והאלילים כרות יכ'	5
יכריתון .. ותמלך אתה יי' לברך מ'	6
מהרה על כל מעשיך בהר ציון ובירושלים	7
משכן כבודך ונגד זקינד כבוד ככתוב על	8
יד נביאך וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה כי	9
[מלך יי'] צבאות בהר ציון ובירושלים משכן	10
כבודך ונגד זקיניו כבוד ככתוב בדברי ק'	11
קדשך ימלך יי' לעולם אלהיך ציון לדור	12
ודור הללו יה ונאמר ויגבה יי' צבאות	13

במשפט והאל הקדוש נקדש בעדקה	14
בא[י] ה[מלך הקדוש] * אֱתָהּ בחרתנו	15
מכ[ל] ה[עמים] אהבת אותנו ורצית בנ[ו]	16
ורוממתנו מכל הלשונות וקדשתנו ב[מ']	17

במצותיך

- L. 1. **בכן** so M, V, R, Per., and some MSS. of A, the others have **ואו**.
- L. 2. **תקפין**, other rituals **תקברין**.
- L. 3. **כל . . . כולה**; **כי כל** omitted in A, S, R; V has **כל** omitted in Abud. **בעשן**, C and Abud.
- L. 4. **ממשלת** omitted in R; the first two letters written in the margin.
- L. 4-5. **תשבר . . . ומלכות** omitted in the other rituals, but found in Y and partially in Per.
- Ll. 5-6. **ממקומה . . . יבריתון**, not found elsewhere.
- L. 6. Am., V, Y, Per. C, Ar. read **יהות אלהינו מהרה וגו'** (לברך C), **והמלוך אתה** (V, C, Y **הוא**).
- Ll. 7-8. The reading in the other rituals is different, most of them having **כהר ציון משכן כבודך ובירושלים עיר קדשך** (מקדשך. Am., S, Ar. Y inverts **בירושלים עירך ובהר ציון משכן וגו'**).
- Ll. 8-12. Am. omits all from **ונגד יהוה** to **ימלוך יהוה**; others, except Y, omit down to **כבוד**, l. 11.
- L. 13. After **הללו יה**, Am., A, V, S, Ar. read: **קדוש אתה ונורא שמך**; M and R read as our ritual but instead of **ונאמר** they have **ככתוב**.
- L. 15. Note that on Yom Kippur **המלך** is substituted to **האל**.
- L. 16. Middle Benediction. On this we have collated also a MS. of the twelfth century, belonging to Prof. Hyvernatt. The MS. is not complete but it gives this section for the Feast of Pesah. We designate it H. Abud. also gives this section for the Feast of Pesah, p. 113, col. 2.

Fol. 13. Recto.

במצותיך וקירבתנו מלכינו לעבודתיך	1
ושמך הגדול הנכבד והנורא עלינו קראת	2
ותתן לנו יי[י] אלהינו באהבה את יום מקרא	3
קדש הזה ואת יום צום הכפורים הזה למחילא	4
לסליחה לכפרה בהן על כל עונותינו באהבה	5
מקרא קדש וזכר ליצאת מצרים * אֱלֹהֵינו	6

- 7 ואלהי אבותינו יעלה ויבוא יגיע יראה ירצה
8 ישמע יפקד יזכר זכרונינו זכרון אבותינו
זכרון
9 זכרון ירושלים עירך ציון משכן כבודך
10 זכרון משיח בן דוד עבדך זכרון כל עמך
11 בית ישראל לפניך לטובה לברכה לישועה
12 לחן ולחסד ורחמים ביום מקרא קדש [ה]ה
13 וביום צום הכפורים הזה לרחם בנו ול[חן]ש'
14 ולהושיעינו וזכרינו יי' אלהינו בו לט[ובה]
15 פוקדינו בו לברכה מלכינו והושיעינו בו לח' (?)
16 . . . אינו חלצינו בו מכל צרה פדינו
17 [...]נו ואנחה שמחנינו בו שמחה שלמה

For this page see Plate.

L. 2. והקדוש so R : others mostly והגבור והנורא

L. 3. יהוה Am. omits.

Ll. 3-6. This section does not correspond exactly to any of the other rituals. From מִקְרָא (l. 3) צִוּם (l. 4) all rituals omit; but after הכִּפּוּרִים אֵת יוֹם סְלִיחת הָעוֹן הַזֶּה אֵת יוֹם מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה (l. 4) O, Ar., Abud. add אֵת יוֹם סְלִיחת הָעוֹן הַזֶּה אֵת יוֹם מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ הַזֶּה. This must also have been the reading of H as the corresponding formula occurs for the Feast of Pesah (34b). Ll. 5 and 6 are also different in the various rituals, at least in details. After לִמְחול Am., V, A, S add מִמְּחול; מצרים . . . מִקְרָא omitted in V. Am., Abud., Ar., and O insert here אֱלֹהֵינוּ . . . מְחול וְנִי."

L. 8. After זכרוננו V, A, S, C add ופקדוננו.

L. 9 ff. זכרון written above the line. V, A, S, C place משיח before זכרון; Abud. (113. 2), H, O, R, Ar., Y (182) follow the same order as here; all omit זכרון ציון משכן כבוד.

Ll. 11-12. Words and arrangement slightly different in the various rituals.

Ll. 12-13. **ביום . . . הזה** same remarks as above, ll. 3-6.

LI. 13-14. לרחם בו עלינו ולהושיענו, O, Ar. "לרחם ; others omit.

Ll. 15-16. At the end of l. 15 there seems to be two letters, ל , which would give us לחיים at the beginning of l. 16. The following word is perhaps נשאינו , as the ש seems to be still partly visible. From נשאינו (!) of l. 16 to והנורא 13 b, l. 2 are additions peculiar to this ritual.

L. 17. Supply **בו מבל**.

Fol. 13. Verso.

- 1 רפאינו בו רפואה תמימה למען שמך
 2 הנכבד והנורא בדבר ישועה ורחמים חוס
 3 וחנינו ורחם עלינו והושיענו כי אליך עי'
 4 עינינו כי אל מלך חנון ורחום אתה * אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 5 אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו תבוא לפניך תפלתנו
 6 ואל תתעלם מלכינו מתחנוניו לפי שאין
 7 אנו עזי פנים וקשי עורף שנאמר לפניך
 8 מלכינו צדיקים אנחנו ולא חטאנו אבל
 9 חטאנו אנחנו ואבותינו אֲשֶׁמְנוּ בגדנו
 10 גזלנו דברנו דופי העוינו והרשענו זדנו
 11 חמסנו טפלנו שקר יעצנו רע כובנו
 12 לְצַנּוּ [נו] מרדנו ניאצנו סרנו עוינו פשענו
 13 צַרְרָנוּ [נו] קשינו ערף רשענו שיחתנו ת'
 14 תַּעֲבֹנוּ [נו] תעינו תעתענו סרנו מדרכ־יך
 15 הטובים וממשפטיך הישרים ולְאֵלֵינוּ . . .
 16 לנו ואתה צדיק על הבא עלינו כי אמת

עשיתה

L. 3. After רפאינו C and Ar. insert ומחול. After עלינו, C inserts מלטנו
 מכל צרה.

L. 4 to the end of the fragments is the Confession of Sins. It is found
 twice in Am., once partly, § צו, for Mondays and Thursdays (Frumkin, I, 395,
 here Am. I) and completely in Service for Yom Kippur, § קיה (Frumkin,
 II, 339, Am. II); V, § שנא (Hurwitz, 390); I, partly in Hasda, p. 48;
 Y partly, p. 65; the others in the regular place. On all the following pages
 compare Baer's *Ritual*, 414 ff. The first portion occurs in these fragments,
 fol. 9a. אֱלֹהֵינוּ found in O, omitted in others.

L. 6. מלכינו omitted in all rituals except Y; לפי omitted by all and also
 in fol. 9a. 4. Instead of שאין אנו, Am. (I and II) reads שאנו.

L. 7. After עורף Am. I, V, I, R, add בדבר הזה; שנאמר, V, A, I, S;
 Ar. לומר; Am. II נאמר.

L. 8. יהוה אלהינו omitted in M; (so 9a, 5); most rituals read אלהינו
 ואלהי אבותינו.

L. 9. "ואבות" . . . חטאנו, thus Y, I, R, Ar.; Am. omits "אנחנו ואב"; V and A read אנחנו חטאנו; M omits חטאנו and connects "אנחנו ואב" with the verbs that follow. In the following alphabetical lists some rituals have several duplicates for the same letter, probably due to a process of borrowing and harmonizing, cp. Baer, 415. C seems to have the greater number of such duplicates; we mention here only those words that are not found in this ritual; they are: נגבנו; חמדרנו; חללנו שבתות וימים טובים; נגבנו; נחשנו; נשבענו לשוא לשקר; מרינו, מאסנו; לצצנו; נחשנו; נאפנו; נאפנו.

L. 14. מדרכיך, in all rituals we read ממצותיך and so also fol. 9 a, l. 11. In almost all rituals וממשפטיך is transposed before טובים, and ישרים is left out.

L. 15. Before ולא V reads וישר העוין; supply שוה.

L. 16. All rituals read כל before הבא, so 9 a, l. 13. אתה צדיק omitted in Am. II.

Fol. 14. Recto.

- 1 עשיתה ואנחנו הרשענו " אֱתָהּ רָחוּם
- 2 וּמִקְבֵּל חֲשׁוּבָה כִּי עַל הַתְּשׁוּבָה מֵרָאשׁ ה'
- 3 הַבְּטַחְתָּנוּ וְעַל הַתְּשׁוּבָה מִיְּחֻלּוֹת לָךְ עֵינֵינוּ
- 4 כְּאֹמֶר שׁוּבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד יֵיךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ כִּי בִשְׁלַח
- 5 בְּעֹנֶיךָ וְנֹאמַר שׁוּבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד יֵיךְ קָחוּ
- 6 עִמָּכֶם דְּבָרִים וְשׁוּבוּ אֵל יֵיךְ וְאָמְרוּ אֵלֵינוּ
- 7 כָּל תְּשׁוּאָה עוֹן וְקָח טוֹב וְנִשְׁלַמָּה פְּרִים
- 8 שְׁפָתֵינוּ הִזְדַּנְּנוֹת וְהִשְׁנִנּוֹת אֶתְּהָ מִכִּיר
- 9 הָאוֹנֶם וְהִרְצִי אֶתְּהָ מִבֵּין וְהִנְגְּלוֹת וְה'
- 10 וְהִנְסִתָּנוּ יוֹדִיעַ " אֱתָהּ יוֹדִיעַ רִזִּי ע'
- 11 עוֹלָם וְתַעֲלֹמוֹת סְתָרֵי כָל הִי אֶתְּהָ חוֹפֵשׁ
- 12 כָּל חֲדָרֵי בֶטֶן וּבֹחֵן כְּלִיּוֹת וּלְבָב אֵין . . .
- 13 דְּבַר נֶעְלָם מִמֶּךָ וְאֵין נִסְתָּר מִנִּי [עֵינֵיךְ]
- 14 [יְהִי רִצּוֹן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יֵיךְ] וְ[אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ]
- 15 לָנוּ חֲטָאֵינוּ וְתִמְחַל לָנוּ
- 16 פִּשְׁעֵינוּ וְתִסְלַח לְכָל עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ וְע'

Ll. 1-9. A section on repentance which takes the place of the short נאמר of the other rituals; it includes a quotation from Hos. 14. 2. In

line 5 **יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד יֵי** are cancelled by points; words inserted from preceding line.

L. 10. This section is found in Hasda (49) and in Yemen (66) in the service for Mondays and Thursdays.

L. 12. **וּבֹחֵן** Y, O, Ar. read **וְרָאָה**. At the end of line supply **כָּל** as in M, Y and many MSS. of the other rituals.

L. 14. Before **יְהִי** M, A, S insert **בְּכֵן**. Supply **אֱלֹהֵינוּ** after **יְהוָה**.

Ll. 15-16. We have not found two rituals that agree perfectly in this section. Practically all have the three verbs **תִּסְלַח**, **תִּכְפֹּר**, **תִּשְׁחַטֵּנוּ** and the three substantives **חַטָּאתֵינוּ**, **פְּשָׁעֵינוּ**, **עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ** but each one has its own combination of them, and its own order in their arrangement. A reads: "**תִּכְפֹּר פֶּשַׁע, תִּסְלַח עֲוֹן, תִּשְׁחַטֵּנוּ חַטָּאת**". The exact order has been a matter of discussion, as we find in Abud. 142, 2 f. See also Baer, 416. Here the missing word at the beginning of l. 15 must be **וְשִׁתְּכַפֵּר**, as the two other verbs occur later. After **כָּל** supply **לָנוּ**.

Fol. 14. Verso.

1	וְעַל חַטָּא שְׁחַטְנוּ לְפָנֶיךָ בִּשְׁגָגָה וְעַל חַטָּא
2	שְׁחַטְנוּ לְפָנֶיךָ בְּזֶדֶן וְעַל חַטָּא שְׁחַטְמָנוּ
3	לְפָנֶיךָ בִּסְתֵּר וְעַל חַטָּא שְׁחַטְנוּ בְּגִלּוּי וְעַל
4	חַטָּא שְׁחַטְנוּ לְפָנֶיךָ בְּאוֹמֶם וְעַל חַטָּא שְׁחַטְנוּ
5	בְּרִצּוֹן וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ חֵיִיבִין שְׁאֵנוּ חֵיִיבִין
6	עֲלֵיהֶם עֲשֵׂה וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ חֵיִיבִין עֲלֵיהֶם
7	לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה שְׁנֵתָק לַעֲשֵׂה וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ
8	חֵיִיבִין עֲלֵיהֶם לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ
9	חֵיִיבִין קֶרֶבֶן וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ חֵיִיבִין מִלְּקוֹת
10	אַרְבַּעִים וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ חֵיִיבִין עֲלֵיהֶם
11	כֶּרֶת וְעַל חַטָּאִים שְׁאֵנוּ חֵיִיבִין מִיָּתֶה בִּידֵי
12	שָׁמַיִם וְעַל חַטָּאִים חֵיִיבִין עֲלֵיהֶם אַרְבַּע
13	מִיָּחוּת בֵּית דִּין חֲנֹק הָרֹג שְׂרִיפָה סְקִילָה
14	[עַל מִצְוֹת עֲשֵׂה וְעַל מִצְוֹת לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה
15	וְעַל הַגְּלוּיִים] לָנוּ וְעַל שְׂאֵינֵינוּ] גְּלוּיִים לָנוּ
16	אֵת הַגְּלוּיִים לָנוּ כִּכְר אִמְרוֹנוֹם עֲלֵיהֶם]

וְאֵת

Ll. 1-5. The list of sins is generally alphabetically arranged, but the number of names varies greatly. A and S have 44; Am. and M have 28;

a few of the letters having more than one; Abud. agrees with Am. and M with few differences; Ar. has 29; R has 24; V has 36, not alphabetically arranged, but in V the sins are divided into two lists of 18, after each one of them is the invocation: **סלח לנו מחול לנו כפר לנו**. This ritual has only six names not alphabetically arranged, it is very close to O which has the same six names, reading **מויד** instead of **זרון**; the order, however, is different.

Ll. 5-16. Are a duplicate of fol. 10a.

Ll. 5-12. Here again there is a great diversity of readings in the rituals. The formula **חייבין** occurs nine times in A and S; five times in Am.; seven times in R and Abud.; twelve times in M; fourteen times in Ar.; eight times in this ritual as also in O and V, but the text is not the same.

L. 6. **שנתק** this occurs only in Ar. On this see the note of Davis, *Service of the Synagogue*, Day of Atonement, I, p. 80.

L. 12. After **חטאים** insert **שאנו** which has been accidentally left out.

Ll. 14-15. The missing elements have been reconstructed from 10a, ll. 9-10.

L. 16. This text is correct as against 10a, l. 11.

A LIST OF POEMS ON THE ARTICLES OF THE CREED

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SINCE early times the Thirteen Articles of the Creed have often been the subject of religious poetry. In 1862 Landshuth, *Amude ha-Aboda*, II, 230-1, enumerated fifteen Hebrew poems on the subject, besides some prayers in prose¹ and a few German imitations in reform Prayer Books, which had their prototypes in the mediaeval German verses referred to by the Maharil. In an appendix to *He-Chaluz*, IX, part II, 1873, Schorr quoted a letter by Zunz stating that he knew thirty-seven poems treating of the Articles of the Creed. A list of thirty-two of such compositions was compiled by Berliner, *ZfHB.*, XII, 11-14, to which I added eleven more (*Ibid.*, XIII, 191; XV, 127). Lately Dr. Hirschfeld in a very interesting article took up the subject and published nine poems on the Creed from MSS., discussing at the same time a few other poems (*FQR.*, N.S., V, 529-42). Berliner's list with the additions was inaccessible to him at the time. I have found several more poems, and while the following list lays no claim to completeness,² it enumerates eighty-eight poems on the

¹ To these might be added Simon ben Samuel, *הדרת קריש* (Thiengen, 1560; Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 516).

² I have not even thoroughly gone over Zunz's *Literaturgeschichte*. S. Sachs in his manuscript catalogue of the Günzburg library describes cod. 367³ as *חרוים על"א עקרים*, without stating what it contains.

Perhaps the rich materials on the Creed collected from numerous books

Creed, including for the convenience of the reader the information contained in the aforementioned articles, and will, I hope, not be considered entirely superfluous. It shows how popular a topic the Creed has been for religious poetry from the thirteenth century to the last, and how poets of all countries, Italy, Spain and Provence, Algiers, Morocco, Turkey, Palestine, Persia, Yemen, and even India as well as Germany and Holland have tried their skill in this subject.

In order not to interrupt the list by lengthy discussions, I wish to add in the first place a few remarks to Dr. Hirschfeld's article which induced me to take up the subject again. In his 'Curiosities of Jewish Literature', London, 1913, as well as in the article under discussion, Dr. Hirschfeld tries to dispute the authorship of the famous Yigdal, the prototype³ of all these poems, ascribed since

and manuscripts by Dr. Schechter may yield some additions; but Dr. Schechter had lent them to Professor Guttman of Breslau, and they are inaccessible now.

³ It has even served as a model for several parodies, and as there is some confusion about this point in recent works it is not superfluous to clear the matter up in a note. In *הוראת בעל דין*, by David Nassi of Candia, ed. Safir, Paris, 1866, p. 17 *seq.*, we find a parody beginning *וחדל אלהים מת וישתבח זכרו שמו וזמן מציאותו*. As this line is very similar to the beginning of another parody by Elijah ben Hayyim of Genazzano, which we print below, Steinschneider in the corrections at the end of his *Jewish Literature*, p. 377, considered the two identical, and assumed that David incorporated the poem of Elijah into his book. This was repeated in Malter's translation, p. 336, note 8, and in Davidson's *Parody in Jewish Literature*, p. 32. Being in the possession of Edelman's copy of Elijah's poem, Steinschneider, after the publication of David's booklet, realized his mistake and corrected it in the Munich catalogue under No. 312⁵. A comparison of the following text with that of David will remove every doubt. It is taken from the copy of Edelman which, with Steinschneider's library, now belongs to the Jewish Theological Seminary. It is introduced with the words: *ויהתל בהם אליהו*

Luzzatto, מבוא למחזור כמנהג בני רומא, Livorno, 1856, p. 18, to Daniel ben Judah; he ascribes it to Immanuel of Rome.

בדברי השירה הזאת אשר היא כתבנית וכדמות שירת יגדל אלהים חי
וזה לעומת זו, and runs thus:

יחדל אלקים מת וישתכח כופר באל חי ובמציאותו
אחד ושלש הוא כיסודו נאלם בבוא עת סוף לאחדותו
הן לו דמות הגוף והן הוא גוף טנוף ומטנוף בקרשתו
קטן לכל דבר אשר נברא ליסוד עפרו שב כראשיתו
הורש אבדן עד לכל נוצר יורה גדולתו—ומלכותו
שפע כסילתו נתנה אל אנשי שליחותו וחברתו
לא קם בישראל כמו עוד זה כזבי ועונה בחציפותו
תורה וחק נתן לעם הואל לחסות בצל סכו כבן ביתו
ככה החליף שונה וגם המיר דת אל ומשפטיו לזולתו
שוכן זבול צופה סתרינו מביט לסוף דבר בקרמתו
השיב גמול לאיש כמו פעלו נתן לרשע רע כרשתו
לא יחזה ביאת משיחינו כי אברה אבוד ישועתו
מתים יהיה אל ברוב חסדו בלחו ישירו תהלתו
וזאת נחלת ממרים בעקרים שמם יסודות אל לתורתו

In a manuscript note, Steinschneider refers to a third parody on Yigdal by Joshua Segre beginning: יגדל אליל לא חי וישתכח, and found in MS. Oxford 2406 end, and probably, cod. Halberstam 324 (Cat. Hirschfeld, No. 453; cf. Krauss, *ZfHB.*, VIII, 22), followed by a fourth one by Simson Kohen Modon. The latter I print here from a manuscript of Joshua Segre's, *אשם תלוי*, part II (Cat. Schwager and Fraenkel, *Husiatyn*, XI, No. 59 end) in our Library:

ייושפל אליל איש מת	וישתכח	שקר ונמנע הוא מציאותו
יבן בן ורוח הם	ביחודו	אחד שלשה הוא אחדותו
הן לו דמות הגוף	ובבטן נוצר	הלא זאת היא קדושתו
נטבל במי נהר	ואז נטהר	היה בגוף טמא בראשיתו
איו אדון עולם	וכל רואה	ירחיק גדולתו ומלכותו
כי מת כמסית הוא	ועל העין	נראה סגולתו ותפארתו
נתלה מקולל זה	והן עתה	פגר נבלה היא תמונתו
תורת אמת למשה	נתן אל	נביא קראו נאמן ביתו
איך יחליפנה?	ואיך ימיר?	עמו אלקים חי לזולתו

He claims that the identity of many expressions with Immanuel's poem in the fourth chapter of his *Maḥberot*, to which Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 507, drew attention, and which Chajes pointed out in detail (*ZfHB.*, XI, 159), precludes a difference of authorship, unless the one poet impudently plagiarized the other, and he finds a clue to Immanuel's name in the words לעמו אל. This is hardly better than Landshuth's discovery of the name Jehiel ben Baruch in the last stanza. It would be surprising indeed if a poet of Immanuel's skill should not have been able to indicate his name in full in any poem if he were anxious to do so. As to the other point, we must never forget how differently literary property was thought of in those times. Dr. Hirschfeld's objection to Luzzatto's positive proof is equally little convincing. Luzzatto mentions an Almanzi MS., now in the British Museum (Catalogue Margoliouth, II, No. 616¹³ (6)), written in 1383 for Daniel ben Samuel, which introduces the Yigdal

ראשון לכל חוטא בקדמותו	איך בא לכפרת עון אדם
נתן לאדם רע כרשעתו	אם האלקים בזמן ההוא
כי שוא דבר כזב ישועתו	יודו במיתתו
כל עם אז ישבח תהלתו	למשיח אל
לעבדו שכ"ם אחד	ממאמיני אל אחד
רת שמיטתו כהן מורון	

A parody on Yigdal without any further indication is recorded in Catalogue 6 of Chaim M. Horowitz, Frankfurt a. M., 1884, under MS. 122.

It is not clear whether the converted Gerard Veltuyck, ambassador of Charles V to Turkey, in his *שבילי תוהו*, Venice, Bomberg, 1539, deals with the articles of the Creed and tries to refute them in poetical form. Delitzsch, *Wissenschaft, Kunst und Judenthum*, Grimma, 1833, p. 288, calls it: 'Lehr-gedicht über die jüdischen Dogmen und die Irrthümlichkeit derselben'. But Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, I, 282; III, 171, whence it seems Delitzsch derived all his information, uses the much less definite term, 'disciplina Judaeorum'.

with the heading: י"ג עקרים שסידרם כמה"ר דניאל זקני זלה"ה: בנמה"ר יהודה ריין, and another MS., a Pentateuch, in the Venice Talmud Torah, written 1398-1405 in Pisa and Perugia, which gives the same information; it also occurs in a third MS., formerly in the possession of Schorr, which was written in Pisa, 1397; see *He-Chaluz*, IX, part II, p. 50. The writer of this MS., Meir ben Samuel of Arles, is also the copyist of MS. Oxford 189, which, like the British Museum MS. just mentioned, was written for Daniel ben Samuel. The three MSS., therefore, come from the same period, and from one circle. But their statement seems clear and authentic. It hardly admits of Hirschfeld's interpretation that the scribe advisedly used the term סדר instead of חבר to convey the idea that, when compiling a Prayer Book, Daniel ben Judah incorporated the Yigdal into it. As it happens, in the British Museum MS. as well as in that of Schorr, Yigdal is preceded by another poem on the Creed with a similar heading: י"ג עקרים שסידרם כמה"ר משה מן הארומים יש"ר מציונה. This poem forms a part of the compilation *Sefer ha-Tadir*, but there can be no doubt that the compiler of the book is also the author of the poem (*FQR.*, N. S., VII, 126). Furthermore, there is a very good reason why the writer should have avoided the term חבר in this connexion. That word can only be applied to the one who formulated the thirteen principles of Judaism, to Maimonides. Only the poetical arrangement and wording was the work of the poet, and that the scribe expressed by סדר. We shall therefore have to follow Luzzatto and deny Immanuel the authorship of Yigdal.

Immanuel's poem which Hirschfeld prints from a Halberstam MS. is found separately also in two Parma MSS. (de Rossi 404 and 1379: see *H. B.*, X, 100) with a

similar introduction as that of Hirschfeld's MS. according to his Descriptive Catalogue. In a note⁴ I give a collation of Hirschfeld's text with a MS. of the Sulzberger Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary (S), which in many cases agrees with the first edition (Brescia, 1492 (B)).

The second poem of Hirschfeld's is by Judah ben Solomon Nathan. In a MS. of the Sulzberger Collection (Catalogue II of Schwager and Fraenkel, No. 208) it has the heading: 'ג עקרים לחכם הגדול ר' יהודה בן שלמה נתן מארלרי. מעתיק ספר הכונות המכונה מא' בנגוראש נתן. It formed the end of the author's introduction to his translation of Gazzali's *כונות הפלוסופים*; see Steinschneider, Catalogue Berlin, I, 86 and 132 last lines. Curiously, it was printed under the name of Nahmanides, Fano 1503, after Musar Haskel and Ezobi's silver bowl (*H. B.*, XI, 105). The unique copy of this edition, now part of the Sulzberger Collection of the Seminary Library (*ZfHB.*, XI, 123), hardly offers any

⁴ The manuscript which was bought from Deinard consists of fifty-two leaves small folio, of which seven (1, 13, 31, 36-38, 49) as well as the end from chapter 25 onward are missing. The order of the chapters is somewhat different from the editions, No. 10 corresponding to 21, and 21 to 14 of the editions, while 11-14 correspond to 10-13.

The variants are according to the lines:

1. S B עלמות. 3. S תבונה אב. 4. S omits בו. 5. B לראשון.
6. S טורים, B טורי S. 7. S נבולתו. 10. S טורי. 15. S B על שבעים.
17. S B רעם. 26. S אל. 30. S ימצא תאר. 32. S העריכהו B.
34. S B המצוים. 37. S כל מי אשר. 40. B גמל. 43. S נבואות, זוהרי B.
46. S B לחולשתו. 47. S בשמעתו B. 48. S בית נאמן. 48 b-50 a. omitted in B. 49. S יחס for בשנתו.
54. S B ואמיתו, יחלף, ימים, ובבא S. 55. S ועד עולם B, היא אשר S.
60. S B הולכי B. 62. S ולכן. 64. S ולהבתו B. 65. S omits עליוכם עו.
70. B בעת B, לבת S, יסוד הודו S, איו S, יהירחם S.

In the heading read כיוותר.

variants.⁵ The facsimile of a page from this little volume in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* , V, 340, contains the greater part of our poem.

Hirschfeld's sixth poem is by Moses ben Yekuthiel under whose name it is correctly recorded by Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 510. It is the one which is ascribed to Moses de Rossi of Cesena in the British Museum and the Schorr MSS. mentioned above; it was published from a MS. of the *Sefer ha-Tadir* in *ZfHB.*, X, 172.

The following list is arranged according to the first names of the authors; for the sake of consistency I have done so even with those of the last century (Baer 75, Fischmann 72, Hamburger 32, Loewenstamm 58, Rosenthal 61, Samoscz 34). Berliner's numbers which follow neither alphabetical nor chronological order are referred to at the end in every case by B. Hirschfeld's poems are quoted by their Roman numerals. About ten of the poems and a few references were brought to my attention by my friend Dr. Israel Davidson, who found them in the course of his work on a complete index of all the printed Hebrew poems on which he has been engaged for some time. Karaite poets are excluded from the list, because they have a Creed of their own consisting of ten articles. It is remarkable that in spite of that the Yigdal was accepted even in their ritual (ed. Wilna, 1892, vol. II, p. 252) where it is preceded by an imitation beginning: *ירום אלהים חי ויתגדל*, with the acrostic Moses ben Joseph.⁶

⁵ It reads l. 4 *כשאר*, l. 8 *בְּלִבְר*, our MS. *בר*; Halberstam notes from a MS. Ghironi *בְּלִבְר*. The correct reading is *בלא בר*, cf. *Babli Sukkah* 45 *בר הא דעיילי בבר הא דעיילי בלא בר* (L. Ginzberg).

⁶ Besides this that ritual has IV, p. 78, a prose prayer beginning with an enumeration of the articles of the Creed and III, p. 314, a poem by Moses ben Elisha *מטיש* of Troki, beginning *סגורה בקרית ארבע סגורה*.

Of the texts added at the end the first is found on a loose leaf in *מחזור לימים נוראים*, Venice, 1693, which is full of MSS. notes and additions (Cat. Rabinowitz 7, MS. No. 52, then MS. Halberstam), Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 7, go back to MS. de Rossi 997, and are taken from S. G. Stern's copies from Parma MSS., part VIII, which formerly belonged to Halberstam, and now form part of the Sulzberger Collection. No. 5 is printed from the two autograph MSS. described under No. 60, No. 6 from the unique edition discussed under No. 64.

Only sixteen of the poems listed here remain unpublished (Nos. 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 18, 22, 24, 31, 41, 57, 59, 65, 74, 80, 81). Of the printed ones three were inaccessible to me (Nos. 32, 37, 79), all the others I have examined myself. It is remarkable how many of those enumerated here for the first time were found in the various collections of liturgical poems of Eastern origin, which were mostly printed in small editions, and are not very common. Time and again I found additions to my list, and it is quite possible that the real number of these poems is considerably larger. But it is almost impossible to attain completeness in such a collection.

Isaac ben Solomon's treatise on the Creed, *פנת יקרת*, Eupatoria, 1834, and Simha Isaac Luzki's commentary, *אור החיים*, to Aaron ben Elijah's *עין חיים*, Eupatoria, 1847, are also preceded by poems on the subject.

All these poems follow the formulation of the Karaite creed by Elijah Bashiatzki in the first chapter of the part of his code *אדרת אליהו* dealing with the prayer (ed. Odessa, 1870, ff. 78 b-85 a), and not the older one of Judah Hadassi in his *אשכול הכופר* (Alphabet, 33 כ-34 ר), which, by the way, precedes Maimonides's by several decades.

1. Aaron ben Mas'ud נסשווא :

אהלל שם אשר יצר כל

in רני ושמחי, Vienna, ca. 1890,⁷ 21 b-22 b.

2. Abigdor Kara (died in Prague, 1439) :

ארני אל אמת אחד

Cod. Oxford 2256^h ; Zunz, *Nachtrag*, p. 25 (B 14).

3. Abraham :

אלה שלש עשרה הם עקרים יסוד דת אמת

ending in יחיה מתים in אילת השחר ועת הזמיר, MS. Landshut ; see עמודי העבודה, p. 231 ; Zunz, p. 539. (B 30.) In spite of the almost identical beginning, it seems from the difference of the end that it is not the same as :

4. Abraham :

אלה שלש עשרה הם עקרים יסוד דת משה

See text I.

5. Abraham ben Joseph of Burgos. (So B ; ed. פרגוש) :

בשם האל יסוד כל היסודות אני מזכיר שלש עשרה יסודות

in שיר ירידות על י"ג עקרים, Livorno, 1896. (B 7 quotes it from MS. Vatican 214¹⁰, De Rossi 997). See also No. 19.

6. Abraham Kohen :

שמעני זקה את מאמרי

Cod. De Rossi 997 ; Zunz, p. 516 ; see text II.

- 7-8. Abraham ben Solomon ha-Sefardi :

אל אמת שלם בתכלית בלי ענין וקנין מציאות

with acrostatic אברהם הגולה מארצו, and, at end, אברהם הספרדי, and :

אמת הוא מחויב המציאות אחד מנהיג בלי לאות

with acrostatic אברהם. Autograph MS. at end of רוח חן

⁷ The copy of the Seminary Library lacks the title-page. רני ושמחי was printed on the binding of the book. I am not quite sure of the date.

written in 1457 for this Abraham, in possession of Schorr; see *He-Chalus*, IX, 2, p. 53 f.

9. Akiba ben Juda ibn אלסיך :

אתה ה' אלהי ארומך

Hirschfeld IX.

10. Anonymous :

אל חי מאד יתגדל

MS. Oxford 1190, fol. 106.

11. Ditto :

אלהי הנשמה שנתת תהללך ולכבודך יצרת

continuing שאי עין Gabirol's follows ואחרותך שלמה without any indication that it is a new poem (owing to the similarity with the end of that poem אשר כל הנשמה in (לו תברך שיר שבח"ה, Livorno, 1841, fol. 4 b; שובע, Livorno, 1855, fol. 12 b; שבחי אלהים, Oran, 1880, pp. 36-7, Siddur Fez סדור תפלות מכל השנה) אהבת הקדמונים, ed. Rafael Aaron ibn Simon, Jerusalem, 1889), fol. 4 a. In the first and third text it precedes Abraham ibn Ezra's כל נשמה אלהי, in the former equally without division.

12. Ditto :

אפטריר בשיר שפה ולשון צחי' לאל והוא ירצה כניחוחי' מבטא שפתינו מקום זבחי' יגדל אלהים חי וישתבחי' נמצא ואין עת אל מציאותו

In this way the poet adds his own verses to the whole of יגדל, always rhyming with the middle of the lines of the latter (comp. No. 33); פזמונים, Calcutta, 1856, No. 69, fol. 25 b *seq.*, וזמירות ישראל, Aden, 1891, No. 11, fol. 5 b *seq.*, חפזת חתנים, Aden, 1902, No. 91, ff. 66 a-67 a.

13. Ditto :

אשירה שירה ליוצר כל יצירה אנכי לה' אנכי אשירה

alphabetical hymn in שבחי אלהים, Oran, 1880, pp. 33-4.

14. Ditto:

אשרי איש באל בוטח כי הוא מצוי ומשגיח
in the liturgical booklet סדר היום, Bagdad, 1870, ff.
49 b-50 a, alphabetical א to י.

15. Ditto:

לאל עולם נתנה שיר ונביעה תהלה
ס' שירים ותשבחות ברכות והודאות in שירי לקבלת שבת
headed מדי שבת בשבתו . . . לומר, Florence, 1755, fol. 1 seq.

16. Ditto:

למדו נדעה נרדפה נאמני לדעת את ה'
מצוי אחד ונורא פשוט קדמון צור נורא נבואת משה תורה ממעוני
ברת נצחית נשיה נעבד גומל ומשגיח תחיה ומשיח יראו עיני
אלו הם יסודות היקרים שלש עשרה עקרים נרמזים ונוכחים בהניוני
In שמואל, Livorno, 1855, fol. 12 a, Siddur Fez,
fol. 2 a, b, and רני ושמחי, fol. 1 a, these four lines are
immediately followed by four verses with the acrostic
שמואל, which no doubt form a poem by themselves
(beginning: שדי רוכב שמים העלנו לירושלים).

17. Ditto:

מצא נבדל אחד
two lines MS. British Museum (Margoliouth III 891),
Hirschfeld VIII.

18. Ditto:

מצוי בלי גשם אחד בקדמותו רומם לבדו או חשוב נבואתו
MS. Munich 210, ff. 109 and 200.

19. Ditto:

מציאותו ואחדותו באין (ואין) גוף וקדמון נעבד ידע נביאיו
למשה שם בתורה (ותורה) לא תשונה גמול ישע מחיה בו (הוא) צבאיו
These two lines are found in Ḥayyim ibn Musa's
 בית תלמוד, II, 112); they
(see Kauffmann, occur twice, in the middle and at the end of Abraham

ben Joseph of Burgos' שיר ירירות (see No. 5); in David ibn Husain's אודה לאל (No. 28) they are used as beginnings of the lines; in שיר שבח"ה, Livorno, 1841, fol. 4 a; שובע שמחות, Livorno, 1855, fol. 12 b; רני ושמחי, 1 a, b, and Siddur Fez, fol. 3 b, they are followed by Gabirol's עין שאי, as if the two belonged together, while in Isaac Ḳuriat's liturgical collection יצחק נחלת אבות ותקן, Livorno, 1899, fol. 302 a, they are found in the middle of other piutim, with omission of the word וקדמון, preceded by the verse

אמונתי בשלש עשרה יסודות אשר המה בנרוני ענודות

We cannot decide whether one of the first two authors composed these lines or whether both borrowed them from an older poet.

20. Ditto:

נמצא אחד גשמות אין לו

Cod. De Rossi 997; see text III.

21. Ditto:

נמצא באחד אין צורה לקדמותו

two lines; Hirschfeld VII.

22. Ditto:

עליון אל גדול ונורא נעלם

MS. Oxford 1188, fol. 237 b.

23. Ditto:

קרבו הנה צעירי ימים נטעי נעמנים

a modern poem for confirmation on Shebuoth in four stanzas of four verses each; the third stanza contains the Creed, the numbers 1-13 being written over each article. The poem is the eighth of twelve lithographed poems for holidays and special occasions, printed on one side only, each poem filling a page. It seems to

have been published in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century.

24. Ditto :

שֶׁלֶשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה עֲקָרִים הֵם אַחִי בֵּין

MS. Paris 840, see Steinschneider על יד קבץ, II, p. 3.

25. Ditto :

תָּדַע אַחֵר אֲמַת

at end of ספר כריתות, Constantinople, 1515, and Cremona, 1558, and, from MS. Montefiore 101, Hirschfeld V. (B 15.)

26. Daniel ben Judah (Italy, fourteenth century): the famous

יִגְדֵּל אֱלֹהִים חַי

see above. In some texts, as in the Roman Machzor, an additional verse is found at the end, in Siddur Fez and רני ושמחי, 2 b, the following two :

אֱלֹהֵי שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה לְעִיקָרִים הֵן הֵם יְסוּדֵי דַת אֵל וְתוֹרָתוֹ
תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה אֲמַת וְנִבְּאוֹתָיו בְּרוּךְ עֲדֵי עַד שֵׁם תְּהִלָּתוֹ

(B 1.)

27-30. David b. Aaron ben Husain (Morocco end of the eighteenth century⁸) has in his תהלה לדוד, Amsterdam, 1807, the following four poems on the creed :

אַחֲזֶה אֶת דְּעֵי אַחֲכֶם בְּנֵיב שֶׁפֶה בְּרוּרָה

fol. 13 a, No. 1, reprinted in שבחי אלהים, pp. 39-41.

⁸ An elegy of his on the sufferings of the Jews of Morocco in 1790 was published by D. Kauffmann, *REJ.*, 37, 1898, p. 123-6. Some poems of our author were reproduced in Moses Reisher's שְׁעָרֵי יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, Lemberg, 1866; see Steinschneider, *Jüdische Schriften zur Geographie Palaestinas*, No. 101, p. 54 f., note Nos. 9-12 which occur in the same order in תהלה לדוד, ff. 21-2. The third of them is also printed in the third edition of זמרת הארץ, Safed, 1876, as well as in פזמונים, Calcutta, 1854, No. 138 (cf. Bacher, *JQR.*, N. S., II, 382) and in שבחי אלהים, p. 138. The Elijah-song, תהלה לדוד, fol. 23 a, b was reproduced in the lithographic edition of the מסעות בנימין, Bagdad (? the title-page has ב נ), 1866, pp. 79-80.

אודה לאל בקול נעים וזמרה בשלש עשרה עקרי דת טהורה
fol. 14 b, No. 5, reprinted in *שובע שמחות*, Livorno, 1855,
fol. 13 a-b, and *שבחי אלהים*, p. 36.

שירים והודאות בואו והגידו לעושה נפלאות גדולות לבדו

fol. 17 b, No. 19. Again he treats the subject at the
end of his *הלכות על הברכות*, which consist of
100 verses; the passage (fol. 52) begins:

אשר אתכם נבנו במדבר ובעלה לישר ולהוכיחם עקרי דת שלש עשרה

31. David Franco Mendes (Amsterdam, 1713-92), *Cod.*
Oxford, 1993, includes his *שיר כולל כל י"ג עקרים* (B 19.)

32. David Hamburger, *זמר*, Metz, 1787, a poem on the
creed at the occasion of the consecration of a Torah
scroll; see Benjakob, *אוצר הספרים*, p. 160, No. 208, and,
for another edition (?) 1788, under the title *שמש* (?),
p. 596, No. 931. The publication is inaccessible to me.
(B 23.)

33. David ben Saadyah (Yemen):

אלי רצה שיחי כמו זבח' כי אז אני עתה כשה נטבח'

with acrostic *ידגל* (exactly like
12) in *זמירות ישראל*, Aden, 1891, No. 18, fol. 10-11,
חפת חתנים, Aden, 1902, No. 90, fol. 65 a-66 a.

34. David Samoscz (died, Breslau, 1864):

יש אלהים יגיד כל בו נשמת חיים

in *אש דת*, I, Breslau, 1834, pp. 72-9, translated from

The seventeen poems of his in the *שבחי אלהים*, Oran, 1880 (not 1885 as
Bacher has it, *l.c.*, p. 383) are equally found in *תהלה לרדוד*. They are
besides the two poems on the creed, pp. 58 (19 c), 60 (20 a), 61 (20 c),
68 (32 b), 69 (33 d), *ibid.* (33 b), 138 (21 d), 184 (23 b) signed with his full
name and 42 (15 a), 61 (20 c), 80 (35 b), 93 (15 c), 185 (29 a), 186 (28 c),
191 (28 b) signed *רדוד*. The same applies to the poems of his in *שובע שמחות*,
ff. 22 b, 23 b, 25 b, 28 a, 29 a, 30 a, 35 b, 40 a, 46 a, 47 a, 47 b, 48 b, and in
רני ושמחי, ff. 14 b, 64 b, 70 b, 72 b, 85 b, 86 b, 96 a, 97 a, 105 b, 106 a, 106 b,
109 b, 110 a, 113 a, 119 b, 120 a (2 poems), 120 b, 123 b, 128 a, 132 b.

the German of Kley, 'Es ist ein Gott, so tönt's aus jedem Munde', which is printed on the opposite pages. (B 25.)

35. David ben Zimra (died in Safed, 1573):

ה' מנת חלקי וכוכי

in Moses Ḥagiz אור קרמון, Venice, 1703, fol. 8 b-9, and with omissions of verses in שבחי אלהים, Oran, 1880, p. 34. (B 22.)

36. David ben Solomon Vital (of Patras and Arta; sixteenth century):

אחד אלהינו ונורא

in his לודר מכתם, Venice, 1546, fol. 93; Zunz, 534. (B 16.)

37. Eliakim:

קחה מוסדות תעורת אל

in שירים וזמירות, Constantinople, 1545, No. 218, Zunz, 549, No. 16. (B 28.)

38. Ḥananiah Eliakim Rieti (died in Mantua, 1626):

חסדי ה' קהל אמוני נזכירה יחדיו ונזמרה

in אילת השחר, Mantua, 1612, fol. 149-50, and ספר אלה של רודפי צדק, Mantua, 1662, fol. 57 b-59 a. (B 21.)

[Ḥayyim ibn Musa, see No. 19.]

39. Hezekiah:

נמצא ויחיד באין גוף ועזרה

MS. De Rossi 997, Munich 210, fol. 109; Zunz 506, see text IV. (B 9.)

40. Immanuel ben Solomon (Rome, ca. 1300):

אפתח בנינור

in מחברות, chapter IV towards the end, Hirschfeld I; see above, p. 309. (B 2.)

41. Isaac :
 יונתי מה לך נדחקת
 Cod. Oxford, 1190, f. 106.
42. Isaac Lattes (Italy, sixteenth century) :
 בראשית מציאותו מצוה מחויב לכל איש יהודי להבין יסודו
 on back of title of מערכת אלהות, Ferrara, 1557.
43. Isaac Mandil ben Abraham Abi Zimra (Algiers, middle of the sixteenth century) :
 מלך מרומם ונעלם מעין נביאים ורואים
 with acrostic שירי זמרה in מנדיל חוק, Livorno, 1872, fol. 49 a, b ; Tunis, 1905, fol. 38 a, b, and, with omission of the last verses, in רני ושמחי, 39 b-40 a ; Zunz, *Litg.*, 535.
44. Isaac Satanow (died, Berlin, 1804) :
 אומר לאדון כל הברואים • כי ליש מאין מציאם
 in אגרת אדר היקר, Berlin, 1732, 19 a-b. (B 24.)
45. Isaiah Hurwitz (died 1628 in Jerusalem) :
 שמע ישראל ה' מחויב המציאות היה הוה ויהיה
 towards the end of his של"ה, ed. Amsterdam, 1698, fol. 417 b. (B 27.)
46. Isaiah Nizza :
 יה מצוי ונורא • אהללך בזמראי שאתה ממציא כל נברא
 in his דרך הישר, Venice, 1633, fol. 4.
47. Israel ben Moses Nagara (Palestine, sixteenth century) :
 יחיד נמצא קדמון לא גוף
 in Landshuth, עמודי העבודה, p. 147, פזמונים, ed. M. H. Friedlaender, No. 3. (B 17.)
48. Jacob Almalih ben Joseph (Fez, eighteenth century⁹) :
 יחשוב לבי אעיר ניבי במהללי
 with acrostic רני ושמחי in יעקב אלמאליח חוק, fol. 48 a, b.

⁹ See his elegy on the persecutions of 1790, ed. D. Kauffmann, *ZDMG.*, L, p. 238-40, cf. 235-6. A poem of his for Purim is found in שובע שמחות, fol. 34 b seq.

49. Jacob Berdugo (Rabbi of Miknas, Morocco, nineteenth century):

ארוממה בשפה נעימה לאל נותן חכמה לפתאים
in his collection of poems קול יעקב, London, 1844,
pp. 4-5.

50. Joab ben Jehiel (Rome, thirteenth century):

יה נמצא ולא נמצא
in the Roman Machzor ed. Luzzatto, Livorno, 1856,
II, ff. 77 b-78 (רשות לקריש שהרית יו"ב), and from a MS.
in Leuchter, בית ועד לחכמים, I, 1894, p. 23 *seq.* (B 8.)

51. Jonathan:

אמונתך בלב שלם תהיה
thirty-four lines headed א"ב ע"פ חרוזים והוא על י"ג עקרים
The alphabet is followed by the acrostic יהונתן interrupted
by three superfluous wavs. It is printed on the
last leaf of ספר אלפא ביתא (אותיות מחכימות), Bresitz, 1796
(not reprinted in the later editions).

52. Joseph:

אברך את שם האל הגדול והנורא ' כוס ישועות אשא ובשם ה' אקרא
'in שיר שבח"ה, Livorno, 1841, fol. 5 b.

53. Joseph; possibly the compiler of the most interesting
MS. *Sammelband*, צדה לדרך, MS. Halberstam 48 (Cat.
Hirschfeld, 129):

אמונתי בלבך שים ותשיג בן עדן אכול בפרי מגדיו
Hirschfeld III.

54. Joseph:

אתם בני עליון שונים באהבתו
According to Cat. Paris 661² it is by Joseph Ezobi,
while Dukes, describing the same manuscript (*Literatur-
blatt des Orients*, 1847, p. 456), calls it anonymous,
although the author gives his name in the last line

(אני יוסף). Hirschfeld IV from MS. British Museum 891 (identical with Catalogue הפליט, No. 56, p. 20); For Margoliouth has בנזיות (?), read בנזיות. Zunz, 569, No. 17. (B 11 and 13.)
[Joseph Chiquitilla, see 62.]

55. Joseph Baruk ben Jedidjah Zechariah of Urbino (Mantua, middle of the sixteenth century) :

עלין ודר חבין אורי וישעי

in his מזמור שיר ידידות ובנות השיר, Mantua, 1659, ff. 24 a-25 a.

56. Juda ben Solomon Nathan (Provence, ca. 1350) :

אנודה זו ואלה הקשרים

Fano, 1503, under the name of Nahmanides, Hirschfeld II (see above, p. 309); Zunz, 509. (B. 10.)

57. Kalonymos (?) :

אדון עולם ולו אולם הדר אולם אשר שמה

והוא אין סוף ברוח סוף יסיר ים סוף והארמה

From these lines of Codex 30¹⁵ of the Municipal Library printed by Delitzsch in Cat. Leipzig Berliner concludes that the poem deals with our subject. The authorship is conjectured by Delitzsch. (B 4.)

58. Markus Loewenstamm :

לבי לך אל חכמים יפוק על דלתותם

in his מחברת שירי הבחינה, Breslau, 1832, No. 38, pp. 111-118. (B 26.)

59. Mattathiah יריר :

נמצא בעולם יש

Cod. Cambridge 40 XII i A, fol. 155 b (Cat. Schiller-Szinessy, I, p. 91), fourteen lines headed עין חיים.

60. Mehalalel Halleluyah ben Sabbatai of Civita Nuova (Rabbi of Ancona in the time of the Sabbatai Zebi movement¹⁰):

מלך עליון ונורא אניר נדלך בנמרה

fol. 9 b-10 a of the autograph manuscript of his ספר הללויה containing prayers, 18 hymns, and 65 letters by the author or directed to him (Cat. Schwager & Fraenkel XI, No. 100) presented to our Library by Messrs. Ottinger; fol. 7 b-8 a of a second manuscript in the Sulzberger collection brought by Deinard from Bologna. This is probably a clean copy made by the author himself from the first manuscript. Another manuscript is found in the Günzburg Library, No. 647. See text V.

61. Meir Rosenthal:¹¹

פחחו לי שערי צדק

fifteen lines with heading על י"ג עקרים, Frankfurt a. M. (?) ca. 1850. On the last line מאיר עמק שושן printed with heavier type. On the other side לפורים beginning

¹⁰ On fol. 11 a we find a glowing poem in honour of מלך משיח נר"ו אשר בעיר אומירני זרח אורו ה"ה הרב הגדול רבינו שבתי צבי גבור בתורה באריה וכלביא אשר עליו הרב רבינו נתן הנביא בעיר עזה חזון חזה. . . which at the end of the manuscript has been changed into a hymn על גאולתינו ועל פדות נפשינו ועל בנין בית מקדשינו. . . In the second manuscript we only find the latter poem.

The autograph of his Responsa Collection, הלל גמור, containing sixty-five פסקים, which was offered in Catalogue R. N. Rabinowitz, No. 4, 1883, MS. 16 is MS. Halberstam 425, now part of the Sulzberger Collection; it includes the responsum mentioned by Nepi-Ghirondi, p. 233, No. 5.

His commentary on the Pentateuch, קדש הלולים, forms MS. 200 of E. N. Adler's Library.

¹¹ The poet is probably identical with the editor of Jacob ben Asher's commentary on the Pentateuch, Hanover, 1838, and the author of the commentary גשמי טל on the Midrash Rabba to Deuteronomy and Numbers, Roedelheim, 1857, Krotoschin, 1859.

מגילתו, by the same author; see Cat. Wagenaar, Amsterdam, 1904, No. 1878, now in the Library of the New York Seminary.

62. Meir ben Isaac ibn Aldabi (Hirschfeld: al-Dubbi) (wrote in Toledo, 1360).

בראשית כל יסוד הבן יסודך חקור למצוא מציאות הקדומה

at the end of his האמונה (Zunz, 506), in MS. Montefiore 48, fol. 5 b, and MS. Danon (האשכול, II, 141), ascribed to Joseph Chiquitilla; Hirschfeld, pp. 533-4.

63. Menahem of Lutra:

מוהב אופיר אפתח מנעול זה מסגרת זר האמונה

MS. Leipzig, 30⁵, printed in Delitzsch's Catalogue, p. 295; a German translation in Delitzsch, *Wissenschaft, Kunst und Judenthum*, Grimma, 1838, p. 196; Zunz, 510. (B 3.)

64. Menahem ben Moses Tamar:

אתה אלהים אמת אתה ארון עולם

with acrostic מנחם בן משה נ"ע תמר חזק אמן. Fol. 4 a, b of his שיר השירים¹² s. l. e. a. probably Salónica early part of the sixteenth century; see text VI.

¹² As this book is nowhere recorded, a short description of the unique copy of the Sulzberger collection in the Jewish Theological Seminary is in place. It consists of twelve leaves (two signatures of six leaves each), has no title page and begins with the heading שיר השירים to which a former owner added מנחם תמר להר'. The author's name is mentioned in full in lines 12-13. It is a treatise—in poetic form—on the laws of poetry and metre (to be added to those enumerated by Rosin, *Reime und Gedichte Abraham Ibn Esras*, I, pp. 5-6), dedicated to his son Samuel (1 b, line 9), and based on Ibn Esra's צחות (4 b, line 11). Each rule is illustrated by a sample, one of these being our poem (fol. 4 a, b). The text begins: בטרם שתחלי לבכי נא יחל לצורך המוחלי עונות ופשעים. Fl. 5 a-12 a contain מנחם תמר להר' אזהרות which are found in the Machzor Romania, and, with the author's own commentary, אל, תנחומות אל, in Cod. Warner 34

65. Moses:

מנחתי ומירתי לך תובל לקח אותה קרא בקר וגם ערב

MS. Munich 210, fol. 109.

66. Moses Hagiz (Palestinian traveller, Altona, 1704-38):

אל אל אחד ולא מצוי נעלם והוא מצוי

in his *צירור החיים*, Wandsbeck, ca. 1730, at the end.

67. Moses ben Jacob Adhan (Morocco):

אפתה פי בשיר ומומור ורשות מאל אשאלה

in *קול יעקב*, London, 1844, pp. 122-4.

68. Moses ben Joseph ha-Levi:

ידיד נפשי ואור שמשו למי מלל גבורותיו

ed. Neubauer, *המניח*, XIII; 1869, p. 38 from MS.

Oxford 2239 as anonymous. The author's name was established by Shereshevsky and יבמ"מ, *ibid.*, pp. 94 and 135. The latter mentions a suggestion of Rittenberg to ascribe the authorship to Moses Sacut whose name, however, was Moses ben Mordekai.

(Steinschneider, *Cat. Leyden*, pp. 139-44) where our treatise is quoted as *אגרת שיר השירים* (Steinschneider, *l. c.*, p. 142). A passage on metre from this commentary, ed. Dukes, *Literaturblatt des Orients*, IV, 340. On fol 12 b we find rhymed calendar rules with heading *מולדות*, beginning: *אלמדרך בני מולד לבנה ודין המועדים שנה בשנה*.

The author was born c. 1460—he mentions a plague of 1466 (*Cat. Leyden*, 141, 395)—wrote (1) a super-commentary on Ibn Esra's commentary on the Pentateuch (*Cod. Warner* 29; see Steinschneider, *Cat. Leyden*, pp. 120-23) in Philippopel, 1514 (Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 274); (2) finished a commentary on Esther, Ruth, Proverbs (*Cod. Oxford*, 353) in 1529 in which he mentions (3) a commentary of his on *מאזנים* and *צחות*. (4) A grammar *ראשי בשמים*, written 1524, is mentioned by Jacob Roman (*Letterbode*, XII, p. 11), and thence in the Appendix to Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Bartolucci, Wolf, &c. Steinschneider wrongly takes this date to refer to the copy, not to the author (*Jewish Literature*, 140, and Index, p. 32) although in *H. B.*, XIX, 63 he seems to have seen that his literary activity fell in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Menahem was a grandson of Zechariah ha-Cohen (see No. 88).

69. Moses da Trani (Safed, 1505-80):
 אאמן שמך ואקדם אליכם אישים
 in his אלהים, Venice, 1576, fol. 3 b.
70. Moses ben Yekuti'el de Rossi of Cesena (Rome, 1373):
 משוך נא אל חסדך
ZfHB., X, 172, under the name of Aḥitub, Hirschfeld
 VI under that of Yekuti'el ben Moses (see above,
 p. 310); Zunz, 510. (B 5.)
71. Naphtali Cohen (Ostrogh, Posen, Frankfurt, died 1719):
 נא פקדוני תשמור לבל יטרפו הכפירים כח:
 - towards end. The poem is found in the beginning of
 his often printed בית רחל.
72. Nahman ben Isaac ha-Cohen Fischmann:
 הן פה בגל זה מנוחת גוייתי לקדמון יחיד נמצא עלתה נשמתי
 in מגד ירחים, IV, Lemberg, 1858, p. 54.
 [Nahmanides, see 56.]
73. Saadyah ben Jacob ibn Danan (North Africa):
 אבוא ביתך למחנה שכינה
 in שבחי אלהים, pp. 32-3, Siddur Fez, fol. 3.
74. Samuel di Caceres:
 שמיניות על פזמון יגדל
 MS. Oxford, 1993. (B 19.)
75. Seligmann Baer:
 אחנה שיר לאל עולם
 in his edition of לקט צבי, Roedelheim, 1877, pp. vii-viii.
76. Shalom ibn Aaron Iraki ha-Cohen:
 אדון עולם שמו אחד ואחדו אמת ברה
 in his brother's edition of פזמונים, Calcutta, 1856, No. 42,
 ff. 15 b-16 a.

77. Simon Tob Melamed (משהר, Persia, 1775):
 סמוך לאל חי והאר עין ישרים חוק בנין שלש עשרה עקרים
 ff. 10 b-11 a and before the thirteen chapters of his
 Persian theological work *חיות אל רוח* (see Bacher,
ZfHB., XIV, 51-2), in Israel Jezdi's *ישמח ישראל*,
 Jerusalem, 1901, fol. 15 (see Bacher, *FQR.*, XIV, 118)
 and in *חנוכת ציון*, Jerusalem, 1914, fol. 39 b-40 a.
78. Solomon Ephraim Lentschütz (died, Prague, 1619):
 אחר אמת היה הוה ויהי בורא כל נבראים המציא כל הנמצאים
 added at the end of the fourth edition of *ספר רפואות הנפש*,
 Altona, 1765, *in fugam vacui* as taken עוללות (!)
 מסטר where I did not find it.
79. Solomon ben Masaltob (Constantinople, sixteenth
 century):
 שירי לאל מצוי מאד נעלה
 in his collection *שירים וזמירות*, Constantinople, 1545,
 No. 263; Zunz, 532-3. (B 29.)
80. Solomon ben Ruben Bonfed (Provence, 1400):
 אלהי קדם שוכן ער
 MS. Oxford, 1984, fol. 45; see Kaminka in *ממזרח ומערב*,
 II, 1895, p. 112 and Zunz, 518.
81. Solomon Nasi:
 אנה הנמצא
 Mahzor Avignon MS. (where?). (B 6.) Identical
 with *מלך הגוים* מי לא יראך Zunz, 489, in which the parts
 begin with אנה?
- 82-3. Solomon d' Oliveyra (Amsterdam, died, 1708):
 אוכיר תהלות אל שלש עשרה
 at the end of *סדר קריאה ותקן לליל שבועות והו"ר*, Amsterdam,
 1691, and in later edd.; quoted by B as found at the
 end of *אור טוב*, Amsterdam, 1675, and in MS. Oxford

1993. In the former place another poem on the subject by the same author is found, headed as in the MS. שיר משובח. It begins:

אל חי מרומם הוא וישתבח

(B 19.)

84-7. Solomon Sasportas (Rabbi of Nizza, died, 1724) in his שש שערים, Amsterdam, 1725 (see Cat. Bodl., pp. 2389-90) has four poems on our subject. In the 108 lines of סם חיים which begins, fol. 2 a, with the words: אהוב נפשי ידידי שמעה לי, after 11 lines the sub-heading י"ג עקרי הדת follows, beginning:

ועל כל שים אמונת אל בקרבך

fol. 5 a: יסרתים על י"ג מדות דויעבור וי"ג עקרי הדת begins:

ה' הוא מחולל כל מרחם

fol. 10 a:

אני מודה בעקרים יסודות לדת משה שלש עשרה ספורות

Ibid.:

אני מודה בראשי שח וכפוף מציאות אל ואחרותו באין גוף

(B 20.)

88. Zechariah ha-Cohen (Greece, died, 1440¹³):

בעקרים יקרים לבקרים בוחרים שירים ישרים

MS. De Rossi, 997, MS. Schorr; see החלוין, IX, 2, p. 54, text VII, Zunz, *Litg.*, p. 379, 650. (B 12.)

¹³ The date of the author's death is recorded at the end of his criticism of Nahmanides, as מנחת קנאות, in שילר יום ה' ט"ו לכסלו שנת האר, as Schiller-Szinessy, Catalogue Cambridge, I, 180, Schiller takes it for 1446, Hirschfeld describing two complete manuscripts (*MGWJ.*, 38, p. 364 = James H. Loewe, descriptive catalogue of a portion of the Library of Dr. Louis Loewe, London, 1895, p. 58) puts the death Nov. 1445, although Brann in a foot-note rightly remarks that in that year the 15th of Kislev was a Monday. The correct date is no doubt Thursday, Kislev 15th, 5201 = Nov. 10th, 1440, the ה of האר standing for the thousands. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the poem published from this manuscript by Hirschfeld (*MGWJ.*, 413 =

89. Anonymous, headed חרוז על ה"י עיקרים :

לעמודים שלש עשרה בני שים לבכך במ נביבה עיקריהם

90. Solomon Yishaki in Paris :

לך אשמח בידים קשורים להודות לך ואפתח בשירים

This poem was copied in 1461 during a sea voyage from Chios to Candia.

Between the two poems the manuscript contains יגדל with some variants headed אחר לרבינו שלמה זכו'.

Subsequently I found that

91. Moses ben Isaac di Riete (Rome, 1388-c. 1460) devoted seven stanzas to the Creed in the second chapter of part I of his מקדש מעט, ed. Goldenthal, Vienna, 1851, ff. 6 b-7 a.

38	חסדי ה'	69	אאמן שמך
		73	אבוא ביתך
26	יגדל אלהים חי	52	אברך את שם האל
68	ידיד נפשי	56	אגודה זו
46	יה כעזי	57	אדון עולם ולו אולם
50	יה נמצא	76	אדון עולם שמו אחד
41	יונתי מזה לך	2	אדוני אל אמת
47	יחיד נמצא	85	אדוני הוא מחולל
48	יחשוב לבי	35	אדוני מנת חלקי
34	יש אלהים	84	אהוב נפשי
		1	אהלל שם
15	לאל עולם	28	אודה לאל
58	לבי לך	82	אזכיר תהלות
		44	אומר לאדון
16	למדו נדעה	36	אחד אלהינו

Cat. Loewe, pp. 66-7) was printed as anonymous by Schorr, החלוין, II, 162, and Geiger, *Jüdische Dichtungen*, p. 28 of the Hebrew part and—under the name of the author—by Steinschneider, who had established the authorship, Cat. Leyden, p. 143 note, in מורה מקום המורה (קבץ על יד), I, 1885, p. 20, No. 69.

		78	אחד אמת
63	מוהב אופיר	27	אחוה את דעי
43	מלך מרומם	30	אשרה אתכם
60	מלך עליון	66	אל אל אחד
65	מנחתי זמירתי	7	אל אמת שלם
17	מצא נברל	10	אל חי מאד יתנרל
16	מצוי אחד ונורא	80	אל חי מרומם
18	מצוי בלי גשם	3, 4	אלה שלש עשרה
19	מציאותו ואחרותו באין גוף	11	אלהי הנשמה
19	מציאותו ואחרותו ואין גוף	80	אלהי קדם
70	משוך נא אל	33	אלי רצה שיחי
		53	אמונתי בלבך
71	נא פקדוני תשמור	51	אמונתך בלב
20	נמצא אחד	8	אמת הוא
21	נמצא באחד	81	אנא הנמצא
59	נמצא בעולם	86	אני מודה בעיקרים
39	נמצא ויחיד	87	אני מודה בראשי
		12	אפמיר בשיר
77	סמוך לאל חי	40	אפתח בכנור
		67	אפתח פי בשיר
22	עליון אל גדול	49	ארוממה בשפה
55	עליון ודר חביון	13	אשיר שירה
		14	אשרי איש
61	פתחו לי שערי צדק	64	אתה אלהים אמת
		9	אתה ה' אלהי
37	קחה מוסדות	54	אתם בני עליון
23	קרבו הנה	75	אתנה שיר לאל
79	שירי לאל	88	בעקרים יקרים
29	שירים והודאות	62	בראשית כל יסור
24	שלש עשרה עקרים	42	בראשית מציאותו
45	שמע ישראל	5	בשם האל
6	שמעני וקח את מאמרי		
		72	הן פה בגל
25	תרע אחד אמת		

TEXTS

I¹⁴

בקשה נאה על י"ג עיקרים

סי' אברהם

אלה שלש עשרה הם עיקרים	יסוד דת משה דברים ברים
נמצא לדורים	ה' יוצר אורים
ביראינו אחד אין אחר עמו	אינו גוף ודמות גוף אין כצלמו
קדמון בעצמו	שוכן עד וקדוש שמו
רבון העולם מסתור ומחסה	נתן נבואה לעם בו חוסה
לא קם כמושה	לכל לראש ומתנשא
הוריד דת אמת על יר ציר נאמן	לא יחליפנה בשום זמן
צופה לכל נטמן	מעשה ידי אומן
מטיב לטובים ורשעים חתים	ישלח משיחו לפדות נאותים
מחייה מתים	לקין ימין ועתים

II¹⁵

אחר לר' אברהם ז"ל

שמעני וקה את מאמרי	כתוב על לבך את כל דברי
ושימה דעתך על פה לזכרם	בכל יום פעמיים גם לאומרם
ומשה האדון מורה חקרים	עשרה עם שלשה הוא ספרם
תחלה שים לעקר זה לעולם	מציאות אל אשר המציא שכלם
והוא אחד ולא כשאר אחדים	פשיטותו בקרב היהודים
ועצמותו בלי מורכב בחומר	ואין לו גוף ולא דבור ואומר
והוא ראשון בלי ראשית ותכלה	והוא קדמון לכל סבה ועלה
וכל נברא אשר ברא לבד לו	לבדו יעבוד אין קץ לגודלו
נבואתו נתנה אל תמימים	לזרע יעקב מכל לאמים
ומשה הוא אדון לכל הנביאים	נבואותיו בלי חזות ברואים

¹⁴ See No. 4 of the list.¹⁵ See No. 6 of the list.

ותורה שם בישראל ומצוה	ביר ציר נאמן כתב וקה
ולעד תעמוד בלתי תמורה	בלי הלוק המימה גם תהורה
ומשניה עלי עמו יחירו	לזכותו למען שם כבודו
להנחיל לו מנוחה לעדי עד	גמולו טובו אשר חשק וויעד
וגם ישלה משיחו ציר לעמו	לקבין את נפוציו להדומו
ירננו שבונים בעפרים	ויקיצו ויחיו הפגרים
אני באתי רצון האל מהלל	כבוד הודו לעימותו אמלל

III ¹⁶

נמצא אחד גשמות אין לי	קדמון רוממהו עם חבלו
נביא משה אך אל גדלו	בכתב על פה דת הנחילו
מבלי תוחלף נמצא כמלוא	משניה תמיד אל פעלו
אם רע עושו אם טוב נמלו	יהיו מתים אחר שאלה

זה כתוב אחר הודוי ע"ת וכ' על מצחו
ואומר זה סוד הי"ג עקרים של הרמב"ם ז"ל

IV ¹⁷

חרוזים

שעשה רבי חזקיה על י"ג עקרים שחבר הרמב"ם ז"ל

נמצא ויחיד	באין גוף וצורה
קדמון ומצוה	לעובדו במורא
בפה ומבין	בכל מעשה איש
מוריד נבואה	לנפש יקרה
מישה נביאו	על כל נביאים
דעתו בארבעה	תבונות יתרה
עומד ומבין	בכל עת בהקין
משיג דבר אל	בדיעה ברורה

¹⁶ See No. 20 of the list.

¹⁷ See No. 39 of the list.

לובשים חרדות	שאר הנביאים
להם במלאך	נבואה אמורה
הם בחלומות	בעתים רחוקות
כי דעתם דבר	אל קצרה
הכתיר עדתו	ועמו במתן
דתו אשר היא	תמימה וברה
אין לה נסיחה	וחילוף לעולם
האל נתנה	ומאל תמורה
אחר תמותה	שלם לכל איש
שבר ועונש	במשפט ותורה
מתים יחיה	ויביא לגולים
גואל ויחיש	פדותם מהרה
אלה שלשה	ועשר שתולים
הָרַמָּ בְּמִזְל	נטעם בשורה
בהם אמונת	אלהים נטועה
אין מאמין בה	מִיּוֹן הוּא מְקוּרָה ¹⁸
שמרם בלבו	וקובעם וזכרם
עליו ברכה	ערוכה שמורה

V¹⁹

מוזמור שיר ליום השבת. לאומרו קודם שבה נשמת. יסודתו על עקרי הדת
מארבע תנועות ויתר ותנועה²⁰ וחמש תנועות ויתר:

אלקי המלך ארוממך' נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך:
מֶלֶךְ עֲלִיּוֹן וְנוֹרָא' אגיד גדלך בזמרה²¹ כי כל נמצא ונברא'
נמצאו מאתך' נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך:
הֵן כל נוצר כאחד' יכיר שמך מיוחד' ירעד ייראה ויפחד'
מיחוד תפארתך' נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך:

¹⁸ Read קְמֻקָּא or בְּקֻרָא (I. Davidson).

¹⁹ See No. 60 of the list.

²⁰ Three times repeated.

²¹ במורה.

לב איש יש בו תבונה יבין ישמור אמונה כי לך אין כל תמונה
 אין גוף למציאותך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 לך יה קרמון וראשון יודה כל פה ולשון עם עם שמור כאשון
 יעירו קדמותך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 אתה מרום לעולם מושל על כל ואולם שחק חבל וחילם
 מגידים מלכותך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 לנביאך טהורים²² גלית סוד סתרים כלם צירים ישרים
 שפרו אמרתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 האיש משה ועניו הודך²³ הביט בעיניו קרן עורו בפניו
 עד כי הוא בן ביתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 למנוחה גם למחיה נתת דת נקיה מנה יפה רצויה
 לנו עם חיתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 לעד בכל שמורה מום אין בה לא תמורה עד עולם היא קשורה
 תוך שבטי אומתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 יצר כל איש ולבו פועל ידיו וניבו כל סוד סתום בקרבו
 גלוי במעונתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 הדרת ירך פתוחה לתת לטוב מנוחה גם לרשע צוחה
 עם מדת צדקתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 יציץ גואל ויצמה לב עם קדוש ישמח נאים יסח וימח
 יגדיל עוז תורתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך
 אמן מתים תקומם קעים באש תהמם אז עוד צדיק תרום
 ישבע מטובתך נשמת כל חי תברך את שמך

VI²⁴

אתה אלהים אמת	אתה אדון עולם
נמצא וננלה ואם	מעין כסיל נעלם
יחיד מיוחד ואמר	נמ לא כאחד אשר

²² ישרים.²³ זיוך.²⁴ See No. 64 of the list.

מְנוֹי לֹאֵת יִתְמָהוּ	יודעים וצר שכלם
נִשְׁנֵב וְלֹא גֹף וְלֹא	כוח במו גוף ואת
חֶסֶן וְקִדְמוֹן לְכָל	הנמצאים כלם
מָרוֹם לְשִׁמְךָ לְבַד	תְּאֹת עֲבוּדָה אִשֵּׁר
בּוֹחֵר נְבִיאִים וְשִׁמָּה	מַעֲלֹת סֶלֶם
מִשֶּׁה בַּחִיר נִעְלָה	עַל כָּל נְבִיאִים וְהוּא
נָתַן לָעָם נִחְלָה	תּוֹרָה וְהַנְחִילָם
עֲדוֹת אֲדוֹנֵי תְּמִיד	מָה נֶאֱמָנָה וְלֹא
תּוֹמֵר וְלֹא תוֹחֵלֵף	דֵּת אֵל אִשֵּׁר שְׁלֵם
חָפֵשׁ כְּלוּיּוֹת וְלֵב	עֵינָיו פְּקוּחוֹת עָלַי
דִּרְבִּי בְּנֵי אִישׁ וּמַעַד	בְּרֵם וּמַפְעֵלָם
זֵדִים יִשְׁוֹדֵד וְלֵ—	טוֹבִים יִיטִיב וְכָל
אִישִׁים יִשְׁלֵם כְּמַעַד	שִׁיָּהֶם וּמַפְעֵלָם
קָדוֹשׁ לַעֲמּוֹ פְּדוּת	יִשְׁלַח מִשִּׁיחוֹ וְהוּא
אֵת נִדְחוֹ יֵאֱסֹף	מִשֵּׁם אִשֵּׁר הַגֵּלֶם
מִתִּיּוֹ אֹי יַחֲיוּ	וְשִׁמּוֹ יִבּוֹרֵךְ בְּכָל
אֶרֶץ וְתִבֵּל וּמַד	עוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם:

VII²⁵

אלה הם השלש עשרה עקרים

שחבר בדרך משקל מורינו ורבינו החכם הפילוסוף האלהי הר"ר

זכריה זצ"ל

בַּעֲקָרִים יִקְרִים לְבַקָּרִים יִשְׂרָאֵל	בּוֹחֲרִים שִׁירִים יִשְׂרָאֵל
נְבִיר מִשֶּׁה בְּנוֹ מִיִּמּוֹן כְּמִטְמוֹן	טִמְנֵם תּוֹךְ לְבָבוֹת הַטְּהוֹרִים
יִסּוּד מוֹרָא וְסוּד תּוֹרָה וְחִכְמָה	שְׁלֵשָׁה וְעֶשְׂרֵה הֵם סְפּוּרִים
מִצִּיּוֹת אֵל בִּישְׂרָאֵל לַעֲיָקֵר	אֲמוֹנָה הוּא יִסּוּד כָּל הָאֲחֵרִים
וְהוּא אֶחָד בְּלִי רַבּוּי וְשִׁנּוּי	בְּלִי כְּנוּי מִשּׁוּלָּל מִתּוֹאֲרִים

²⁵ See No. 68 of the list.

וגוף עקרי'ו וכחו אין נכחו	ולא ידמה לדבר מדברים
והוא קרמון והוא אמון לבדו	ויוצר כל וכל בלחו יצורים
עבוד לו סור ולא אל זר וסרסור	להליץ בעדינו לו אמרים
וגלוי סוד ואות יביא לגביא	לבב חכמה לגלות הסתרים
ולא יתחד ²⁶ כמשה איש ונבחר	עלי כלם בארבעה נדרים
שתי תורות אשר נתן להורות	בכל עמו זקנים עם נערים
לעולם לא יפירן לא ימירן	ולא איש להפית שקרים
ובוחן מחשבות אדם וסודם	והשגחה פרטית לו בעברים
ומשיב גמולו לו כפעלו	והוא מוריש והוא משפיל ומרים
ליואל ²⁷ אל בישראל וגואל	ישלח לאסוף את הפדויים
ויפנה יחזה מחנה ישנה	עפרים יעלו אבר נשרים
זכור כי רק ידיעה היא כבודך	הדר נפש חכמים ²⁸ זיו קשורים

תם ליה ודהבא מתקליה

²⁶ Read יבחר (I. Davidson).

²⁷ Read לו יואל (I. Davidson).

²⁸ Schorr reads חכמה.

THE MENORAT HA-MAOR

TIME AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

By ISRAEL EFROS, Johns Hopkins University.

CONCERNING the Menorat ha-Maor of Isaac Aboab, very little has been written so far. All we have is a brief essay by Zunz on the authorship of the book.¹ And yet the book is surely a promising subject for scientific research. Much for example might be gathered from an examination of its references to the Jerushalmi, regarding the latter's textual history; or from a comparison of its copious quotations from the Midrashim for the history of Midrashic literature. Jewish science still has much to unravel and to illuminate. My present purpose is merely to determine the date and place of its authorship.

That the book—which for brevity sake we will call ‘Menorah’—was composed by a man named Isaac Aboab,² is evident from the introductory poem **חֶסֶד הָאֵל** the acrostic of which yields **חֵיבוֹר יֵצֶחֶק אֲבוֹהַב**.³ But who is that Isaac

¹ See *Ritus*, pp. 205–10.

² The name is Arabic **أبو هب**, and it was so originally pronounced; but already in the sixteenth century we find a scion of that family, Imanuel, signing his name in the Spanish book *Nomologia*, and elsewhere, Aboab. Cf. *JQR.*, X, 130, and Loenstein, *Die Familie Aboab*.

³ The poem was apparently composed by some one else; otherwise the acrostic would have been in the first person, viz. **אֲנִי יֵצֶחֶק אֲבוֹהַב**. That the closing hemistichs give us the words **לְרַבִּי אֲבִרָהָם זִלְהָה**, was already noticed by Meyer Wiener (cf. *Ha-Maggid*, IV, 32), who surmised that the poem was probably dedicated to the memory of a certain R. Abraham—

Aboab? Is he to be identified with the disciple of Isaac Campanton, bearing the same name, who died in the year following the Spanish Expulsion? A chronicler of the sixteenth century, גדליה בן יחייא, answers the question affirmatively. In his 'inauthentic history' called שלשלת הקבלה he states הרב ר' יצחק אבוהב חכם גדול ונפטר בפורטוגאל שנת רצ"ג (צ"ל רנ"ג) ז' חדשים אחר הגרוש והיו לו ששים שנה והיה מתלמיד רבי קנפנטין הנזכר והוא חבר ספר מנורת המאור. This opinion was not called into question down to the end of the eighteenth century, when Azulai, in his שם הגדולים, noticing that Abraham Zacuto speaks of Isaac Aboab the author of the Menorah, without mentioning him as his teacher, began to doubt the validity of this ascription. At last a scientific investigation was attempted by Zunz, who reached the conclusion that our author lived not at the end of the fifteenth century, but in the year 1300 or latest in 1320.

Now instead of proceeding with our date-inquiry, let us first examine the sources of our book and the problem as to the place of its composition. The logic of this method of procedure will reveal itself, I trust, in the course of the discussion.

entirely an unwarranted suggestion. Besides, the poem bears no dedicatory character; it is no description of the addressee, which would usually be the case. To my mind, the opening and the closing hemistichs give us one complete statement of the author חיבור יצחק אבוהב לרבי אברהם זלה"ה (perhaps the initial word of the first closing hemistich should be ברורשי, the fourth word in the acrostic therefore being ברבי) i. e. Isaac Aboab, son of R. Aboab. This is highly significant; for in addition to giving us the name of our author's father, it also furnishes us with a clue to the date-problem. Identifying this R. Abraham with R. Abraham Aboab mentioned in the Responsa of R. Judah b. Asher entitled *Zikron Jehudah*, p. 53, we come to the conclusion that Isaac Aboab lived at the end of the fourteenth century; more of which later.

I. THE SOURCES OF THE MENORAH.

The Menorah can by no means be called an original production. Just a cursory glance will impress one with its mosaic and eclectic character. It is a collection of legendary stories and moralistic passages, topically arranged, gleaned from the two Talmudim⁴ and the Midrashim. Of the latter, mention is made of the Midrash Rabba,⁵ Mekilta,⁶ Sifre,⁷ Chapters of R. Eliezer,⁸ Tanḥuma,⁹ Pesikta,¹⁰ Ekaḥ Rabbati,¹¹ Midrash Tehillim,¹² Midrash Mishle,¹³ Midrash Shir ha-Shirim,¹⁴ Midrash Zephaniah,¹⁵ Midrash Kohelet.¹⁶

⁴ The references to the Babylonian Talmud are too numerous to be mentioned; quotations from the Palestinian Talmud are found in chs. 51, 52, 100, 106 (here the Jerushalmi is referred to by its older title **מִנְרַת דְּבַנִּי** (מִנְרַתָּה), 108, 111, 113, 120, 131, 142, 151, 162, 270.

⁵ For quotations from Bereshit Rabba see chs. 81, 92, 105, 131, 138, 155, 159, 170, 181, 186, 194, 205, 238, 254, 276, 284, 300; for Shemot Rabba, see chs. 29, 86, 92, 96, 101, 195, 224, 248, 297, 312, 329; for Vaikra Rabba, see chs. 50, 69, 96, 148, 149, 151, 153, 158, 195, 198, 254, 332; for Bamidbar Rabba, see chs. 133, 170, 313; for Debarim Rabba, see chs. 51, 96, 111, 192, 222, 223, 225, 247, 296.

⁶ See chs. 52, 142, 146, 155, 159, 225, 237, 243, 292, 294.

⁷ See chs. 1, 41, 51, 64, 96, 123, 126, 144, 198, 223, 232, 253, 265, 275, 298, 329.

⁸ See chs. 43, 45, 52, 80, 96, 100, 111, 113, 131, 159, 173, 201, 205, 215, 238, 275, 279, 284, 290, 296.

⁹ See chs. 2, 41, 88, 95, 96, 106, 123, 129, 133, 140, 142, 192, 213, 238, 253, 254, 290.

¹⁰ See chs. 92, 97, 101, 118, 141, 149, 150, 153, 154, 166, 192, 230, 275, 279, 282, 284, 291, 293.

¹¹ See chs. 286, 304, 305, 310.

¹² See chs. 1, 17*, 89, 102, 105, 170, 172*, 208, 282, 288*, 312, 329. The star on some of the foregoing references indicates that they are missing in Buber's list in his introduction to the Midrash Tehillim, p. 38.

¹³ See chs. 11, 53, 64, 136, 246.

¹⁴ See chs. 80 (here it is named 'Hasita'), 238.

¹⁵ Ch. 171.

¹⁶ Chs. 181, 253.

Of the rarer Midrashim, mention is made of the Midrash Hashkem,¹⁷ no longer extant; of the Hupat Elijah Rabba,¹⁸ and of the Sefer Hekalot. The last quotation is noteworthy. In ch. 93, he states וכתוב בספר היכלות שיש בו (i. e. in the prayer 'Baruk Sheamar') פ"ז תבות והסימן ראשו כתם פז, but the passage is not found in our fragmentary Sefer Hekalot. Jellinek, in his introduction to *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. II, has collected a number of quotations not found in our Hekalot. Furthermore, it is well known that there existed another Hekalot, surnamed Zuṭarta, mentioned in some Gaonic responsa attributed to Hai.¹⁹ It seems strange, however, that a prayer based on certain lines in the Seder Elijah Zuṭa, chapter 4, a work of the middle of the tenth century, should be referred to as having attained definite form and containing a fixed number of words in the Hekalot which is somewhat older. The fact is that the fixation of the number of words along with the mnemonic symbol is given by the author of the Roḳeah, who seems to be the first source. Hence I think that the author of the Menorah borrowed this passage from the Roḳeah, and

¹⁷ See chs. 30, 51, 222, 225, 229. Zunz in his *Ritus*, p. 205, advances this as a proof for the earlier date of the Menorah, since the 'mention of Midrash Hashken ceases with Israel Alnaqua'. In his *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 294, he evidently corrects himself and states that this Midrash was known until the end of the fifteenth century. Yet even the latter statement is not quite exact; the Midrash Hashkem is mentioned in the Reshit Hōkmah by Elijah de Vidas, who lived at the end of the sixteenth century. See S. Buber's *Introduction to Midrash deḳah Ṭob*, Wilna, 1880, p. 21a. Be it also noted that this Midrash is never mentioned in the Menorah by its other name, Wehizhir. Cf. Zunz's *Gesammelte Schriften*, pp. 251 ff., and Geiger's *Jüd Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 95 *et seq.*

¹⁸ See ch. 201. This fragment is not found in the fragments of the Hupat Elijah Rabba, contained in the Reshit Hōkmah.

¹⁹ Cf. Ṭaam Zekenim, p. 56, and Teshubot ha-Geonim, Lyck, 99. As for their ascription to Hai, see my essay in the Hashiloah, XXX, 463 ff.

mistook the origin to be Midrashic; though strangely enough the Roḳeah is nowhere mentioned in the Menorah. It shows, however, that our author knew of the *Sefer Hekalot*.

It is to be noted that in those places where Aboab gives his source very vaguely—as ‘it is said in a Midrash’—his first hand knowledge of the source is questionable. The story about the tailor who outrivalled the magistrate in bidding high prices for a good-sized fish on the day before Yom Kippur—a story quoted from ‘a Midrash’ (ch. 295), is really taken from the *Ṭur* on the laws pertaining to the Day of Atonement, as we shall subsequently see. The story of Abahu complaining on his death-bed of his lack of social activity (ch. 228), is taken verbatim from Israel Alnaqua’s ‘Menorah’.²⁰ His statement that Adam was given the law of female menses along with his homiletical interpretation of the verse in Genesis: ‘I will make him a help suitable for him’ (ch. 180) is found in the *Sefer ha-Musar*, which, as Dr. Schechter has proven, is a mere paraphrase of Alnaqua’s ‘Menorah’.²¹ His quotation from ‘a Midrash’ *זכור בים ושמור ביבשה* is found in the Semag of R. Moses of Coucy, who writes *יש מדרש זכור בים ושמעתי כי יש מדרש זכור בים ושמור ביבשה* (סי’כ”). The idea is contained in the *Pesikṭa* to the Ten Commandments as follows: *אמר אייבו זכור נתן ליורדי הים שאינם יודעים אם באיסור הם מטלטלים אם בהיתר הם מטלטלים שמור נתן ליושבי היבשה*. It is obvious that the author borrowed his quotation not from the *Pesikṭa* but from the Semag. In ch. 113, he copied verbatim from the *Ṭur*, § 292, in explaining the cryptic meaning of the three Sabbatical Amidahs.²² In ch. 103, he cites a ‘Midrash’ concerning

²⁰ פרק הדינין.

²¹ Cf. Schechter in the *Monatsschrift*, XXXIV, 114 ff.

²² Compare Tosafot to Hagigah, p. 3 b.

swaying to and fro during prayer; whilst the true source is the *Sefer ha-Manhig*, whence the extract. Similarly, his 'Midrashic' quotation forbidding one to sit within a certain area of a man that is praying, is really an extract from the *Tur*; and his 'Midrashic' story about the sagacious woman who offered instructions to her daughter before the nuptial ceremonies as to the position of the husband in a household—a story which Zunz calls a 'strange Midrash', but which is strongly reminiscent by its very style of late moralistic literature, is literally copied from Israel Alnaqua's 'Menorah'.²³

We see, then, that our author's range of reading was not exclusively Midrashic. He made considerable use of Gaonic and later Rabbinic writings. The earliest Gaon mentioned is Jehudai Gaon (ch. 297). He was familiar with Amram Gaon's 'Siddur' (ch. 97). He quotes a responsum of Hai and another one by 'a Gaon' which likewise means Hai,²⁴ but these two quotations are borrowed from the *Rosh* at the end of Tractate *Rosh ha-Shanah*.²⁵ In ch. 293, Aboab quotes וגם כתוב בתשובות הרב ר' יצחק ז"ל גאון סי' קע"ה קע"ו.²⁶

²³ Ch. 176. It is not found in the fragmentary remains of Alnaqua's *Menorah* contained in the *Reshit Hokmah*, but in the Bodleian MS. See נחל קדומים by Dukes, II, 61; also *Rabbinische Sprachkunde*, p. 5.

²⁴ Alfasi would refer to Hai as 'the Gaon', see Hashiloah, *l.c.*, p. 560, note 3.

²⁵ Indeed the greater part of ch. 290, from the words כמו שזכרנו בפרקי דרבי אליעזר is literally from the *Rosh*, some parts omitted. Furthermore, the whole passage in the *Rosh* is reproduced in the *Tur*, § 981, but the *Menorah*-passage bears greater resemblance to the *Rosh*. That he did not ignore the *Tur*, however, is evident from the fact that he adopts the reading of the *Tur* ה' אלול בכל שנה וכל החדש instead of the reading of the *Rosh*, which is only ה' אלול בכל שנה. The reason for Aboab's adoption of the *Tur*'s reading will appear in the sequel.

²⁶ The text is apparently corrupt. It reads: וגם כתוב בתשובות בשם הרב ר' יצחק ז"ל גאון סימן קע"ה קע"ו רב עמרם ורבנו סעדיה ורבנו

Unless the word 'Teshubot' is used in a very loose sense, it would seem that Gayyat's 'Shaare Simḥah', where the quotation occurs, was originally a collection of responsa. His extract from the 'Teshubot ha-Geonim', in ch. 297, is found in the *שערי חשובה*, 10, 67.

More numerous are his references to Rabbinic literature. The *מגלת סתרים*²⁷ of the famous R. Nissim of Kairwan, is mentioned twice (chs. 95, 133); but in both cases it is highly doubtful whether Aboab used the original source. The fact is that both quotations are reproduced in the *Manhig*, which drew as freely from the *מגלת סתרים*²⁸ as our book drew from the *Manhig*. Thus Zunz's argument that our author must have lived at an early period since he still used the *מגלת סתרים* loses its cogency. Our book furthermore mentions Rashi, the Rashbam's commentary on *Bababatra* (ch. 1), Ibn Ezra's commentary on the *Pentateuch* (ch. 95), and Alfassi (chs. 60, 129). The anonymous quotation in the introduction, introduced with the expression *ואמרו עליו*, is found in the *Eshkol* of Abraham b. Isaac Ab Bet Din of Narbonne. Maimonides, apparently a favourite

האי שהיו נוהגים בימיהם להריע נ"כ אחר סיום התפלה נמי תקיעה ונ' *שברים כדי לערבב השמן*. Evidently the word *בשם* belongs before *רב עמרם*; while the word *נמי* is an error; it should be *בלא*. Cf. *Tosafot* on *Rosh ha-Shanah*, 33 b: *וכן בסדר רב עמרם אלא שכתב דבסוף מריע*: *תרועה אחת בלא תקיעה*.

²⁷ This title was apparently at one time a favourite among Jewish authors. Aboab mentions in the introduction a work by Sherira bearing the same name. Cf. Rapaport's biography of R. Nissim, note 25.

²⁸ See Cassel in Zunz's *Jubelschrift*, pp. 131-33. To his list of quotations from the *מגלת סתרים* in the *Manhig* may be added the one relative to Aaron and the dedication of the tabernacle, which occurs in the *Manhig*, though the source is there omitted. Cf. Nahmanides' commentary on the *Pentateuch*, Num. 8. 2. Be it also noted that ch. 95 in our *Menorah* contains many passages that are strongly reminiscent of the passage on the *Kaddish* in the *Orhot Hayyim* and in the *Kol Bo*.

with Aboab, was honoured with eleven direct, beside a number of indirect references.²⁹ There are quotations from his Mishnah commentary (chs. 60, 334), from his Code (chs. 71, 294, 312, 316), and from his Guide (ch. 79, 149, 221, 237, 300). The latter work he designated as the ספר הנכבד, showing that the famous anti-Maimonidean disturbance must have subsided in his day and the popular sentiment settled in favour of the great Jewish thinker. Coming to post-Maimonidean writers, we find references to Abraham b. Nathan of Lunel, whose Manhig was extensively used though only in two places acknowledged (ch. 80, 82); to Nahmanides' commentary (chs. 133, 152); to the latter's 'Iggeret ha-Kodesh', which, with a few insignificant modifications, is entirely incorporated in the Menorah (chs. 181-5);³⁰ to an unknown work entitled 'Haye Olam'³¹; to Anatoli's 'Malmad' (ch. 93); to the Semag of Moses of Coucy, which again, as we already noticed, was freely used though mentioned only once (ch. 155); and to Ibn Latif's kabbalistic work entitled 'Shaar ha-Shamaim' (chs. 237, 292). The ethical literature is further represented by the Mibhar ha-Peninim, the Musere ha-Pilosophim, and the Mishle Shu'alim, all of which are not mentioned by name but anonymously referred

²⁹ His theory that high intellectual attainments result from the predominance of the dry element in the physical constitution of man, is a literal plagiarism from Maimonides' 'Shemonch Peraḳim', ch. 8.

³⁰ This plagiarism is mentioned in Brill's *Jahrbücher*, II, 166. Steinschneider, however, in his *Hebräische Bibliographie*, 1876, p. 89, unwilling to charge our author with literary larceny, is rather inclined to doubt Nahmanides' authorship of the 'Iggeret ha-Kodesh'; but Nahmanides was not the only man whose works won our author's affections.

³¹ This work is also mentioned by Alnaqua. Cf. Schechter in the *Monatsschrift*, XXXIV, 125. See also חולדות גדולי ישראל and the Bodleian Catalogue, p. 1426.

to, viz.: חכמי המוסר אמרו or חכמי המחקר אמרו.³² The last author whose name is found in the Menorah is Asher b. Jehiel, who is mentioned in two places only (chs. 94, 97), but has been utilized, as we already observed, in many more.

Yet the sources of our book do not terminate with the Rosh; indeed it will not be hard to detect traces of later writers in the Menorah. I have already given one or two examples where Aboab drew upon the Ṭur; I shall now cite a few more. In ch. 132, the tractate Soferim is quoted regarding the sanctification of the New Moon, and the same quotation is given in the Ṭur, §426; but in both cases a certain part of the talmudical passage quoted is omitted and at the end the following is added וי"א בזה הסדר ברוך ברוך קונך ברוך בוראך וסימן יעקב והיא רמו לו. Evidently one of them, of the Ṭur and the Menorah, copied the other and not the tractate Soferim.³³ That it was the author of the Menorah who copied from the Ṭur can be seen from the fact that he uses the final words וסימן יעקב

³² The epigram סודו של אדם יהי מוסר בידו כעבר אבל אם יגלה יהי חסד, occurring in ch. 49, was apparently a favourite among Jewish authors. It is found in the משלי שועלים and in the מבחר הפנינים, and is copied in Kalaz's ספר המוסר. The poet Joseph Ezobi sings in a slightly different form:

אסירך הוא ואם ימס אסורו תהי נפשך בידהו אסורה

The saying ממופת החכמים מיעוט הדברים (ch. 59) is analogous to the expression שער כ"ו, בן המלך והנזיר in כשירבה השכל ימעט הרבור. The proverb תחלת מחשבה סוף מעשה is borrowed from Bahye's commentary on the Pentateuch (פרשת תזריע), written in 1291. See Winter u. Wünsche, *Jüdische Literatur*, II, 321.

³³ The reading in tractate Soferim, according to many early authorities, viz.: Manhig, Roḳeah, Kol Bo, was apparently ברוך בואך ברוך יוצרך. Such indeed is the reading in the Basle edition of Soferim of 1580; however the current editions vary.

כלו שהלבנה רומזת לו as a *text*, commenting upon it לעקב. Another example we find in ch. 131, where he introduces a reason for the custom prevalent among Jewish women not to work on the New Moon, with the words ויש אומרים, the passage being literally transcribed from the Ṭur, § 417, where the author tells us that he learned the reason from his brother R. Judah. In ch. 295, our author cites a story of the King who commanded his only son to fast on a certain day and ordered his servants to entertain the prince with a festival on the preceding day so as to alleviate the fasting, the source of this story being the Ṭur, § 439. His explanation of the solemnity of Hoshanah Rabba, לפי שבחנן נירונין על המים והכל הולך אחר החתום, is also literally taken from the Ṭur, § 664. These examples will suffice to show that the Ṭur was not an inconsiderable source for our author who did not find it appropriate, however, to express acknowledgement and indebtedness. The idea of individual ownership in the domain of intellect was still unknown.

Even a later writer than the author of the Ṭur was exploited by Aboab for his work—I refer to Israel Alnaqua, who died the death of a martyr together with R. Judah b. Asher in Toledo, in the year 1391. His book, a namesake of our Menorah, has not seen the light yet; only a part has been published by Elijah de Vidas in his work called 'Reshit H'okmah'. Hence a full comparison of the two works is as yet impossible. But comparing the published fragments of Alnaqua's work with our Menorah, we arrive at the conclusion: first, that the one must have made use of the other: and secondly, that it is our author who utilized Israel Alnaqua's collection. Let us take for example Alnaqua's chapter on Judges and chapter 222 to

230 in our Menorah, and we shall see that both begin with the same excerpt from the Midrash and avail themselves of the same quotations in the course of the discussion, and make the same comments. In some places indeed our Menorah becomes a splendid summary of Alnaqua's book, an abridged edition. I cannot resist quoting one rather lengthy passage:

Aboab, ch. 86.

וצריך אדם לזוהר שלא יוציא
דבר מגונה מפיו בפני בנו וכ"ש שלא
לעשותו כדי שלא ילמד בנו ממנו
אבל ישתדל להרחיקו מן הכיעור ומן
הדומה לו אפילו שלפעמים נוגע בו
האב יזהר יותר מפני בנו אבל
יקרבו למדת ההסידים וירחיקו מן
האיבה והקנאה והמריבה ואם יחרפהו
אדם או יכהו יעלים הדבר מבנו כדי
שלא יכנים עצמו בסכנה בקנאת
כבוד אביו. אמרו מעשה בחסיד
שהיה מתוכח עם חברו בשערה אצל
הדיינין והיה בנו אצלו והיה בעל דינו
מחרפו ומגדפו ואומר לו עשית כך
וכך והיה אומר דברים מגונים
ומכוערים עד מאד שמע בנו חרה
אפו ובקש להתקוטט עם אותו איש
בעל דינו של אביו. וכשהרגיש
אביו בדבר א"ל בני למה חרה לך
אם אמת היה הדבר ועשיתי אלה
הדברים המכוערים. שאומר עלי

Alnaqua on Education.

וצריך אדם לזוהר ביותר ולשמור
פיו ולשונו שלא ידבר בפני בנו בדבר
מגונה וכ"ש לעשותו ואעפ"י שהוא
מגונה אם עשהו בפני הבן או שלא
בפניו מ"מ יותר מגונה הוא האב אם
דבר או עשה דבר מגונה בפני בנו
שלא ילמד בנו ממנו אם יאמר לו
האב למה עשית כך וכך יאמר לו
הבן והלא כך וכך עשית אתה וע"ז
אמר הנביא התקוששו וקושו פי'
קשום עצמן ואח"כ קשום אחרים.
ואם ישמע האב דבר מגונה שעשו
אחרים יתעבנו מאד בפני הבן ויפליג
בגנותו ויאמר תבא קללה על פלוני
שעשה כך וכך ועל כל העושה
כמעשהו כדי שיתננה הדבר בעיני הבן
ויתרחק ממנו ומכיוצא בו ואם ישמע
דבר משוכח שעשו אחרים כגון
למוד או כתיבה נאה או כיוצא בהם
ישבחנו מאד בעיני בנו ויאמר כמה
נאה דבר זה שעשה פלוני וסופו

לירש מעלה עליונה הואיל והוא עשה למה תתקוטט עמו אני הוא שעשיתי דבר נחמד כזה ויפליג בשבחו כדי שישמע הבן ויתאזה לעשות גם הוא דבר נאה כמותו סוף דבר ישתדל להרחיק את בנו מן הכיעור ומן הדומה לו ויקרבנו למדת החסידים והישרים כגון כשיקום האב בבוקר לתפלה שיוליך לבנו עמו לב"ה וכן כשיילך לגמול חסדים כגון בקור חולים והכנסת בלה והוצאת המת וכיוצא באלו יוליך לבנו עמו כדי

שירגילו בנ"ח ובעשית המצוות וכשיעשה האב מצוה מן המצוות יעשה אותה בעצמו כגון סוכה ולולב וכיוצא בהם יקשור הלולב בידו ויראה לבנו וילמדנו לעשות כך . . . ישתדל האב לפרוש מן הקנאה והאיבה והאיבה והתחרות אם בן אדם יחרפהו או יקללהו בפני בנו שלא יחרה אף הבן ויתקוטט עמו בשיביל אביו ואפטר שיהרגו או שיהרג ונמצא האב גורם לבנו מיתה מיטונה או מביאו לידי בזיון. ואם יארע לאב שום מריבה עם אדם ויחרפהו יסכול ויכסה הדבר שמא ישמע בנו ויבא לידי סכנה מעשה בחסיד אחר שהיה מתוכח עם חברו בשער אצל החכמים והיה בנו אצלו מחרף ומגדף אותו ואומר לו עשית כך וכך והיה מספר בננותו ואומר בשבילו דברים מכוערים מאד ושמעף בנו וחרה אפו עד מאד לכבוד אביו ובקש להתקוטט עם אותו האיש בעל דינו של אביו כשהרגיש אביו אמר לו למה חרה לך אז אמת דברים שהוא אומר שאנו עשיתי דברים מכוערים ומגונים כאלו למה תתקוטט עמו אני הוא שעשיתי שלא כדין ראוי אני לשמוע חרפות וקללות מפי אדם על כל מעשי הרעים ואם לא עשיתי אותם הדברים המכוערים שאמר למה תחוש לדברים בטלים הנית לו ויאמר והש"ת יודע הנסתר יודע שלא עשיתי ושאני נקי מכל הדברים שהוא אומר בשיבילי ושהוא אומר שוא ודברי כזב.

I have overlined all the passages in Alnaqua's column

that constitute the excerpt from our work. Notice how skilfully our author was able to present the essence of another's ideas in their original garb though not with their original label. Notice furthermore that the story about the saint and his son introduced in our Menorah with the expression 'some one said' is evidently original with Alnaqua. Another idea which Aboab introduces with the words 'some one said': namely, that 'the salvation which the children may bring to the parents is greater than the salvation which the parents may render to their children' (ch. 87), is also taken from Alnaqua's chapter on education.

This, I think, will suffice to prove that Aboab freely drew upon Alnaqua's work; and here ends our investigation into the sources of the Menorah. The subject that now invites our attention is the place of its composition.

2. PLACE OF COMPOSITION.

That Isaac Aboab, the author of the Menorah, lived in Spain, no one seems to doubt. Why should one doubt when the title-page clearly reads *יצחק אבוהב הספרדי*? And apparently there is nothing in the book to prove the contrary. In fact, the book seems to be remarkably deficient in what is known as local colour. Yet there is something that proves the contrary. Aboab's references to prevailing customs and rites leave us no doubt that he did not live in Spain, but in France. The following references to Minhagim in the Menorah will confirm the truthfulness of this statement.

In ch. 93, our author speaks of the significance of the prayer called Baruk Sheamar which is to be said before the

Psalms.³⁴ Now the author of the *Manhig* states that the French custom was to say *Baruk Sheamar* before the Psalms on a week day as well as on a Sabbath, but according to the custom in Spain and in the Provence, the Psalms preceded *Baruk Sheamar* on a Sabbath. Our author, making no distinction in this case, evidently followed the French ritual.

In ch. 103, he brings a passage from the *Midrash*—which he found in the *Manhig*—about swaying to and fro during prayer, and remarks *וכן מנהג החסידים*, while the *Manhig* adds *וכן מנהג רבני צרפת וחסידיה*.

In ch. 152, in connexion with *Hoshanah Rabba*, our author writes: *ומרבין בסעודתו כמו ביו"ט ומוסיפין בו מזמורים ונרות*. Now Abraham of Lunel tells us that in France, in Provence, and in *Allemania* additional Psalms were recited on *Hoshanah Rabba*, but not in Spain. In view of this, how can one claim that our author lived in Spain? He also tells us that lighting candles on that day was purely a French custom.³⁵

In ch. 286,³⁶ our author states that it is customary to

³⁴ וגם תקנו בהקדמת התהלות ברוך שאמר. Now see *Manhig* (Berlin, 1855), p. 10a: *מנהג צרפת לומר ב"ש בין בחול בין בשבת לפני כל המזמורים . . . ומנהג ספרד ופרובנצא להתחיל בשבת ויו"ט אחרי הברכות והקרבנות לפני ב"ש הזמירות של שבת*. It is to be noted that Aboab's quotation from the *Malmed* is also given by *Abudraham*; and yet close examination will reveal that Aboab in this case drew from the original.

³⁵ See *Manhig* (Warsaw, 1885), pp. 109-110: *מנהג צרפת ופרובנצא ואלמניאה זולתי בארץ ספרד לומר בהושענה רבה מזמורים של שבת וקדושה רבה במוסף כשאר ימים טובים . . . וכן נהגו בצרפת להדליק נרות בהושענה רבה כבליל כפור*.

³⁶ והומיפו עליו למעטו בכל הדברים שהם אנינים של שמחה משנכנסו. Now comp. *Tur*, 'Orah-Hayyim', ch. 951, where we find: *וכן מנהג אשכנז היחידים נמנעים מבשר ויין מי"ז בתמוז*.

abstain from meat during the nine fateful days preceding the ninth of Ab; and from various sources we learn that this was not a Spanish custom.

In ch. 290, our author speaks of sounding the Shofar during the month of Elul as a fixed institution, but this again was only a French minhag. The origin of this custom is to be found in a certain passage in the Chapters of R. Eliezer, and when the Rosh and the Tur, who wrote in Spain quote this passage they deem it necessary to remark that it was not a Spanish custom. In the same chapter, our author tells that it is customary to fast on the last day of the year, and we find in the Manhig that 'it is customary in all France, and among most of the scholars of Provence to fast on the day before Rosh ha-Shanah'.³⁷

Thus we see that our author follows in all cases the ritual and the customs of France, very often in opposition to those of Spain. The inevitable conclusion therefore is that Isaac Aboab, the author of the Menorah, though of Spanish origin, as the name unmistakably implies,³⁸ lived and composed his work, not in Spain but in France. When that change of homes took place, we have no clue to speak with any amount of certainty. Perhaps in the latter

וואילך ומר"ח וואילך נמנעים כולם מבשר ויין. See also Rokeah, ch. 310. Abudraham clearly states: ובאלו הארצות לא פשט זה המנהג.

³⁷ See Manhig, p. 87: מנהג צרפת להתחיל מר"ח אלול וואילך לתקוע בכל יום . . . לכך התקינו לתקוע בר"ח אלול והצרפתים עושים אף משם וואילך. See also above, note 25. The Rosh (end of tract 'Rosh ha-Shanah'), Tur (ch. 981), and the צידה לדרך (Warsaw, 1880, p. 227) also regard it as an Ashkenazic minhag. As to Aboab's statement: גם מצינו שנוהגים להתענות להענות, we have the corresponding statement in the Manhig, p. 81: מנהג כל צרפת ורוב חכמי פרובינצא להתענות ערב ר"ה.

³⁸ See above, note 2.

part of the twelfth century, during the Almohade persecution, his ancestors left the Spanish peninsula and sought refuge in the North where, as Benjamin of Tudela reports, Jewish communities enjoyed peace and tranquillity. At all events Isaac Aboab lived and composed his Menorah on French soil. We are now prepared to deal with the problem of date. Having determined the 'where', let us see whether we cannot equally determine the 'when'.

3. DATE OF COMPOSITION.

Just a word, by way of introduction, on Zunz's brief essay on our subject. In my opinion it falls short of the standard of Zunz's other writings. Conclusions are so hastily drawn, arguments so unconvincing, that one instinctively asks: Did Zunz write it? That our author is not identical with Isaac Aboab, the Castilian, one of the Spanish exiles of 1492—he has proved well. But if the Menorah was not written at the end of the fifteenth century, why presume that it was written at the beginning of the fourteenth? He argues that from the introduction to our book, we gather that Aboab wrote two more works, one halakic and one ritualistic; and he asks: If the author lived at the end of the fifteenth century, how is it possible that the two works were lost? Now, even if we admit the major premise that works of the fifteenth century cannot be lost, we need not admit the minor premise that the two works were lost. They were not lost because they were never written. Indeed, he does not state that he wrote the two works, but that he intended to write them.³¹ And as he began to compose the Menorah in his

³¹ כיון שהתחלתי לדבר והסכמתי לחבר בדברי מדרש ואגרתא לא טוב להניח שמעתא . . . ע"כ בקוצר דעתי . . . אכתוב דעת הנאונים

later days,⁴⁰ is it not likely that he never realized his intention? Or take another argument of Zunz's. The Menorah never mentions the Ṭur by name, in spite of the parallel passages which are to be found in both works; consequently, the Menorah must have preceded the Ṭur. Now, first, if the Menorah preceded the Ṭur, why does not the Ṭur mention the Menorah? Secondly, we have seen that our author very often makes use of works without due acknowledgement. He incorporates, for example, Moses b. Naḥman's 'Iggeret ha-Ḳodesh' in his Menorah, yet we should not say that the Menorah preceded the Iggert ha-Ḳodesh because there are parallel passages and he does not mention the latter by name. I think I have already proved that it was the Menorah which availed itself of the Ṭur, but did not openly refer to it, as it did not openly refer to Israel Alnaqua's 'Menorah'.

Zunz's position now being abandoned, what is our answer to the problem of date? In the light of the conclusions reached in our investigation into the sources of our book and into the place of its composition, the answer to this last problem is not far from sight. We have seen that the last work utilized by our author is Alnaqua's 'Menorah', which was written not long before 1391, the year before its author's martyrdom. Let that year be our *terminus a quo*. Let us see whether we cannot equally locate the *terminus ad quem*. We find the book mentioned

ופרושי הפרשנים אותם שראיתי ואזכה לראות בימים שעברו ובאות . . . ארון (i. e. the ארון ואבנה המנורה בראשונה שהוא מבוא לאמצעית ולאחרונה (שולחן הפנים and the העתוד).

⁴⁰ See introduction: על כן מלאני לבי לתת חלק אחד מאותו הזמן שער הנה הייתי מתעסק במטרדות העולם להגות בדבר זה שיהא קרבן בערי מכל ימי ביטולי.

as early as Abraham Seba, who in his *ספר המור*,⁴¹ referring to a certain midrashic passage, does not quote it himself but refers the reader to the Menorah—a fact indicating that the book enjoyed popularity as early as the end of the fifteenth century. The name of our book also occurs in a MS. dating from about 1500.⁴² But the *terminus ad quem* can yet be moved a little nearer. Indeed the greater part of the fifteenth century must be excluded from the problematic territory. It is well known that the Kaddish originally bore no relation to the conception of death, but was a mere doxology recited after a talmudic discourse; but gradually some kabbalistic notions clustered around that prayer, and early in the fifteenth century it assumed a sombre aspect. It then became customary for the orphans to recite it daily for eleven months after the passing away of a father or a mother. In the works of Isaac b. Sheshet Barfat and in the Kol Bo, we find the beginnings of this custom; yet if we search the Menorah thoroughly we find no trace of the Mourner's Kaddish. The Kaddish is indeed mentioned and commented upon, but only in its original doxological significance. Moreover, Aboab speaks of how children can save their parents from the throes of Hell (ch. 27)—would it not be appropriate there to speak of the Kaddish? He quotes rather at length the legend about Akiba who met a ghost running impetuously, bent under a heavy load of wood to feed the tongues of flame in Gehenna which consumed him daily, and Akiba is told by the dead man that no one could save him except his son by the repetition of Bareku (ch. 9). Now in the course of time, this legend was so modified as to include the Kaddish as equally

⁴¹ Sefer Debarim, p. 129.

⁴² See *Ritus*, p. 210.

possessing the power to redeem the dead, and was therefore made the origin of the institution of the Mourner's Kaddish.⁴³ Why is Aboab silent about it in this connexion? I think this is more than an *argumentum e silentio*.

Thus our problematic territory cannot embrace more than the last part of the fourteenth century and the earlier part of the fifteenth. And when we remember that Aboab lived in France, where no Jews were found from 1394, the year of the Expulsion, to 1426, we finally reach the conclusion that Aboab must have lived at the latter part of the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ He probably lived in Paris where French Judaism was then centred, and where the Jews lived peacefully and unmolested under the reign of Charles V, the kind monarch who was said to be enamored of a Jewish maiden. Thus when Aboab writes אבל עתה (קל"ז) שעושים בני אדם כל ימיהם כחגים ושותים לשובע בכל יום (קל"ז) the words cannot refer to Spain,⁴⁵ nor to Germany, where Jewish suffering was so intense that its very tale is heart-rending, but only to French Judaism and to that particular time when there was yet peace for the Jews and light, though only like the pale light of the wintry sun soon to disappear in a cold long night of infinite darkness.

But while the fortune of worldly goods smiled upon the Jews of France, there was spiritual and intellectual lethargy in the very land of Rashi and the Tosafists. True, a certain scholar named Mattathiah b. Joseph who succeeded to be

⁴³ Cf. אור זרוע, II, 6, 11.

⁴⁴ Our supposition, above in note 2, that our author was the son of R. Abraham Aboab, meets therefore with no objection in point of time.

⁴⁵ Cf. Hasdai Crescas's letter to the Jewish community of Perpignan. See also introduction to צידה לדרך.

the favourite of the king, and was exempted from wearing the badge of shame,⁴⁶ tried to institute academies in France and to spread talmudic lore; and some talmudic MSS. that had been confiscated were returned by the king to the Jews; yet as there was no general, hearty craving for halakic studies, all attempts failed. 'What shall be done at this time', our author asks wailingly, 'when owing to our sins the academies consecrated to learning are decreasing?' (ch. 244); again, in ch. 270, he writes: 'What shall be done at this time when owing to our sins knowledge is rare and the sages of Israel are few and far between?' At last Aboab conceived a scheme of saving French Judaism. He abandoned his worldly pursuits and betook himself to the pulpit.⁴⁷ The halakah became unintelligible

⁴⁶ Cf. Charles's 'Ordonances', V, 498: 'Exceptez tant seulment . . . Maistre Mattathia et sa mere et Abraham son fils'. Isaac b. Sheshet also speaks of Mattathiah as a favourite of the king, as well as of his attempts to open talmudical academies. See his Responsa, 270.

⁴⁷ That preaching was now his vocation is evident from what he says in the introduction: וּגַם לַעֲיִן בּוֹ בְּקוֹצֵר וּבְלִי עֵמֶל כְּשֶׁאֲצַטֵּר לְדַרֵּשׁ, and also from what he says in the epilogue; בְּרִי שְׁלֵא אֲצַטֵּר . . . רְצִיתִי לְטַרוּחַ. He furthermore states that he did not introduce any material unfit 'either to be taught or to be preached in public'. It is to be noted that sermons occupied no leading position in French Jewry of that time, for two reasons: (1) their ritual was too elaborate to allow ample time for the preacher; (2) the French Rabbis were too much engrossed in pilpulistic studies. See Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, ch. 22. We can now understand why Aboab spoke so complainingly of pilpulistic Halakah and casuistry. It is furthermore to be noted that while the Menorah is merely a collection of material for sermons, it is clear from the paucity of biblical interpretations, that Aboab's sermons bore a greater resemblance to the French model which was a mere string of Midrashim and Haggadahs, than to the more elaborate Spanish model like Anatoli's and Nahmanides' and Nissim Gerundi's, the basis of which is a scriptural text and the rest is commentary. The Spanish type was exegetic, based on the Bible; the French type was an independent moral

to the masses, but there is yet enough in the haggadah to convey to all, young and old, men and women, the moral quintessence, the ethics of Judaism. To those he could reach by the living word, he preached; for others, he composed his Menorat ha-Maor. Suddenly, however, in 1394, the Jews were ordered to leave France, and French Judaism came to an abrupt ending. And yet, thinking of the number of editions which the book was privileged to see,⁴⁸ and considering that down to our own day it served as a spiritual guide for the Jewish woman, the workman, the rank and file of Israel, we can realize our enormous indebtedness for the historic continuity of Jewish learning and Jewish morals, to the author of the Menorah, Isaac Aboab.

discourse, interwoven with stories and sayings gleaned from post-biblical literature. Aboab's sermons were of the French type.

⁴⁸ See the Bodleian Catalogue, p. 1071.

KEDESH-NAPHTALI AND TA'ANACH

BY JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College.

PRACTICALLY all Biblical scholars are agreed that Judges 4 is merely a prose account of the victory of the tribes of Israel over the Canaanites, which is described in older, poetic form in Judges 5. They base their conclusion upon the fact that Deborah and Barak, Jael and Sisera play practically the same rôles in Judges 4 as in Judges 5, and that in both chapters the battle results in an overwhelming victory for Israel. They argue that, since prose generally, if not invariably, represents a later stage of literary evolution than poetry, and since, moreover, ch. 4 describes the battle as taking place on the banks of the Kishon, near the foot of Mount Tabor, it furnishes merely a later, rationalized version of the great Battle of Ta'anach, in that it ascribes the victory in the main to the prowess of Barak and his men, and speaks of divine intervention only in the most general and non-committal manner. Of a similar rationalistic nature is the version of ch. 4, that Jael killed Sisera while he slept rather than, as in ch. 5, while he bent his head, unsuspectingly, to drink the milk she had brought.

Furthermore, these scholars maintain the altogether passive and insignificant figure of Jabin, King of Haſor, whose general Sisera was, according to the version of ch. 4, was borrowed from Joshua 11, where he is repre-

sented as the leader of a federation of northern Canaanite city-states conquered by Joshua. With this, almost without exception, they let the matter rest.

Yet there are differences between the two versions, quite as significant as the points of resemblance. In Judges 5 Sisera is king of a powerful Canaanite city-state in the Kishon Valley, presumably, since these are the only cities mentioned by name in the entire poem, either Ta'anach or Megiddo. He is also the leader of a powerful coalition of Canaanite city-states, apparently all situated in this same valley, against an equally powerful league of neighbouring Israelite tribes. In Judges 4, however, he is merely the general-in-chief of Jabin, King of Haşor, an important Canaanite city-state, located probably a little south-west of the Waters of Merom, some forty miles or more from the Kishon Valley, and separated from there by a southern spur of the Lebanon Mountains. Sisera's camp¹ is located at Ĥarosheth-Haggoiim, an unidentified place, presumably situated in the mountains about midway between Haşor and Mount Tabor, on the northern edge of the Kishon Valley.² This is an unfavourable and rather improbable site for such a camp. Why the version of ch. 4 located it there will become clear shortly.

According to 4. 4-6, Barak hails from Ķedesh-Naphtali and Deborah from the country of Ephraim. She is associated with the well-known 'palm of Deborah', situated between Ramah and Bethel, apparently the same tree

¹ It is nowhere implied in ch. 4 that Ĥarosheth-Haggoiim was the capital of Sisera, as Moore states (*Judges*, 110), or anything but his camp.

² Moore (*op. cit.*, 119) hesitatingly accepts the identification of Ĥarosheth-Haggoiim with Tell Harothieh, at the western end of the Kishon Valley, and suggests that in ch. 5 Sisera may have been king of this Canaanite city-state, even though it is not mentioned there.

which was called *'allon-bachuth* because another Deborah, the nurse of Rachel, was, according to tradition, buried beneath it.³ According to Judges 5. 15, Deborah seems to have been of the tribe of Issachar, while Barak was either of Issachar, or, as it should most probably be emended, of Naphthali.⁴

Moreover, in ch. 4 Deborah is a prophetess and a judge, and to her the tribes resort to receive justice, or, as is more likely implied in the words ויעלו למשפט, to consult the oracle and receive oracular decisions and laws. But in ch. 5 she is none of these. At the most she is only an אִם בִּישְׂרָאֵל (ver. 7), if that term had, perhaps, some specific designation. Actually she plays not at all the rôle of a prophetess, but only the simpler and far more primitive rôle of the battle-maiden, somewhat similar to that of Ayesha at the Battle of the Camel,⁵ who accompanied the tribes into battle, chanting a song of warfare and triumph to spur the warriors on to victory. Apparently, as the tribes of Israel advanced in culture and civilization, the old tribal nomad methods of warfare were outgrown and forgotten, and the rôle of Deborah, no longer understood, was changed to that of a prophetess and co-leader of the tribes with Barak.

Furthermore, ch. 4 is quite confused in its account of the actual site of the battle. In fact it contains two distinct and contradictory accounts of the battle-field. According to vers. 6 and 12, Barak mustered his army at Mount Tabor, while Sisera drew up his army along the Kishon (vers. 7 and 13). After his defeat Sisera fled north-eastward through

³ Gen. 35. 8; cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, 113.

⁴ See Moore, *op. cit.*, 151.

⁵ Cf. Damiri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, trans. Jayakar, 434 ff.

the mountains, hotly pursued by Barak. He passed by his permanent camp site at Harosheth-Haggoiim, and even past Haşor, the capital of Jabin, and finally lost his life in the tent of Jael at Şa'annaim near Kēdes̄h. On the other hand, vers. 9 and 10 state explicitly that Barak mustered his men at Kēdes̄h-Naphtali. The two sites cannot possibly be identified. Between them there cannot be the least doubt which was the correct historical battle site. Joshua 11 tells of the defeat of Jabin of Haşor at the Waters of Merom, just as Judges 4 tells of the defeat of the army of this same Jabin of Haşor under Sisera at Kēdes̄h-Naphtali, just west, or a little north-west of the Waters of Merom. Unquestionably Kēdes̄h-Naphtali is a more exact determination of the actual site of this battle, and the event is the same as that referred to in Joshua 11.

The version which locates the battle on the banks of the Kishon, just below Mount Tabor, is manifestly the result of an attempt to harmonize the account of the Battle of Ta'anach of Judges 5 with the Battle of Kēdes̄h-Naphtali of Judges 4 and Joshua 11, and to make them seem one battle. Apparently the authors of this version were none too well acquainted with the topography of the Kishon Valley. For Mount Tabor is fully eight miles from the Kishon at its nearest point, and is separated from the stream by Jebel ed-Duhy or Little Hermon. Furthermore, to have fled northward from the banks of the Kishon below Mount Tabor, Sisera would have had to cut his way through the entire army of Israel coming down from the north, and to pass by the camp of Israel on Tabor. These facts suffice to prove the harmonistic character of the version of ch. 4. Moreover, 5. 19 seems to indicate that the victory

over Sisera's army was gained on the banks of the Kishon in the vicinity of Ta'anach and Megiddo, rather than near Mount Tabor.

In the harmonized account of the two battles in Judges 4, the battle had to be fought on the banks of the Kishon. For the rôle played by this stream in the Battle of Ta'anach was so essential that, while the authors of Judges 4 might not be specific about it, they could not entirely ignore it. On the other hand, the site of the battle could not be too far removed from Ḳedesh-Naphtali to lose the connexion with that city and territory, and make it impossible for Sisera to flee thither from the battle-field. Therefore this single composite battle was located at the seemingly favourable site of Mount Tabor, in the author's mind not far removed from the Kishon, and also accessible to Ḳedesh-Naphtali by a fairly easy road over the mountains. And to further this process of harmonization and identification, the camp of Sisera was located at Ḥarosheth-Haggoiim, between Tabor and Ḳedesh-Naphtali.

These considerations make it probable that Judges 4 is not merely a prose account of the same great battle and victory of the tribes of Israel over the Canaanites, that is described in the older poetic version of Judges 5, but is rather a composite, harmonistic narrative of two distinct battles—that of Ḳedesh-Naphtali and that of Ta'anach.⁶ This is confirmed by one further and most significant consideration. Judges 5 tells that a call was sent to all the then related tribes of Israel.⁷ Of these, Ephraim, Machir, Benjamin, Issachar, Zebulun, and

⁶ This conclusion had been previously reached by Budde (33), Moore (109), and Nowack (31).

⁷ Judah, Levi, Simon, Caleb, and other southern tribes are not mentioned.

Naphtali⁸ answered the call and participated in the battle, while Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher refused to obey the summons. On the other hand, Judges 4, 6, and 10 state expressly that only Zebulun and Naphtali participated in the Battle of Kadesh-Naphtali.

The natural tendency of Israelitish historiography was toward nationalization of ancient tribal traditions,⁹ towards representing an ever larger group of tribes as acting in concert for a common end. Finally, at some time after the evolution of the nation under David, all early pre-Davidic tribal traditions were completely nationalized. They now came to tell that from the very beginning Israel had consisted of only twelve tribes, always constituting one nation, acting in concert under one leader, and conquering the whole land of Canaan together and at one time. Manifestly the account in Joshua 11 of the victory of all Israel under Joshua over Jabin of Hasor and his allies at the Waters of Merom, is only a nationalized version of the ancient tribal battle of Kadesh-Naphtali against this same Canaanite enemy.

In view of this evident tendency of Israelitish historiography, it would be surprising indeed to find the older version in Judges 5 telling of the summons to battle being issued to ten tribes, and of six of these actually participating in the battle, and the later version telling that the call came to only two tribes, Zebulun and Naphtali, and that only these two tribes were actually engaged in the contest. The difficulty is obviated when we realize that

⁸ Substituting Naphtali for the second Issachar in ver. 15, and comparing ver. 18; cf. above, p. 361.

⁹ See my 'Foundations of Israel's History', in *Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook*, XXV (1915), 256 ff.

we have to do, not with one, but with two distinct battles; in the Battle of Ta'anach six tribes participated, while in that of Ḳedesh-Naphtali only Zebulun and Naphtali were engaged. And they were engaged for the obvious reason that their territory, or the territory which they sought to acquire, was contiguous to, and endangered by the powerful and hostile neighbouring Haṣor, Ḳedesh, and other similar Canaanite city-states in the vicinity. These had to be conquered before the two tribes could feel themselves safely established. Community of danger and interest tended to unite them into a fast and enduring coalition. The intimate association of Zebulun and Issachar in Gen. 49. 13-15 and Deut. 33. 18 f. may indicate that at some not much later date Issachar, too, came to be regarded as a member of this coalition.

On the other hand, Judges 5 states that six tribes participated in the Battle of Ta'anach, while four refused to obey the summons. The reason is obvious. The territories of Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher were farthest removed from the Kishon Valley, and were consequently not immediately threatened by the Canaanite coalition, while the territories of Zebulun, Issachar, Machir or Manasseh, and seemingly also Ephraim, touched upon the Valley, and so were immediately endangered.

But, it may be asked, why, in such case, should Benjamin and Naphtali, whose territories were quite as far removed from the danger zone as those of Gilead, Dan, or Asher, have responded to the call? The answer is simple, and indicative of ancient tribal conditions in Israel. Naphtali responded undoubtedly because its league with Zebulun, and possibly also with Issachar, must have been by that time firmly established. And similarly,

Benjamin responded because, as is attested by abundant Biblical evidence, it felt itself closely related to, and was probably at that time united in a similar league with Ephraim and Manasseh. On the other hand, it would seem that in the early tribal history of Israel, Dan, Asher, Reuben, and Gilead constantly stood each by itself, alone and unsupported by other tribes. Manifestly none of these tribes had entered into coalition with other tribes, and their relations with the remaining tribes of Israel were only of the loosest. Certainly just this picture of tribal isolation is conveyed in regard to Gilead and Dan by the stories of Jephtha and of the overthrow and migration of Dan.

This consideration would imply the existence in ancient Israel of two federations, each consisting of three contiguous tribes, one north of the Kishon Valley, and one in central Palestine. These two groups of tribes had been held apart for a time by the Kishon Valley, which remained for a long, uninterrupted period in the possession of the powerful Canaanite city-states situated in the Valley. A common danger from this common enemy, apparently too powerful for either group alone to resist successfully, impelled these two groups of tribes, six in all, to make common cause. Together they achieved a great victory, with momentous and far-reaching consequences. Had the Canaanites gained the victory instead of Israel, it is impossible to even imagine what the results might have been. Certainly Judaism would never have evolved; and without Judaism and its daughter religions, Christianity and Islam, the history of mankind would have been vastly different. Truly civilization was hanging in the balance at this moment, and the Battle of Ta'anach may well

be regarded as one of the most decisive battles of history.

About a century and a half later history repeated itself, but upon a larger scale. A third federation of Israelite tribes, this time in the extreme south, had come into existence, chiefly through the organizing genius of one man—David. This southern federation was almost entirely cut off from free relations with the northern groups of tribes by Canaanite possession of a stretch of land extending from Jerusalem on the east to Gezer on the west. Through this territory all the high roads connecting Judah with the north country passed, and were completely controlled by the Canaanites. Common danger from the Philistines now compelled the northern group of tribes, though somewhat against their will, to make common cause with the new southern tribal federation. But before he could offer united, systematic resistance to Philistine aggression, David had to join the two parts of his kingdom in fact as well as in name. Accordingly, disregarding the Philistines for the moment, David attacked and conquered Jerusalem, and thus obtained control of the lines of communication between north and south. The conquest of the Philistines followed. A common interest and a common danger from a common enemy had once more united two federated groups of tribes. The nation of Israel was the result. The key to the appreciation of these successive steps in the evolution of the nation of Israel out of originally separate, independent tribes or small tribal groups, is furnished by a correct differentiation between the battles of Kadesh-Naphtali and Ta'anach, and an understanding of their antecedent conditions and their consequences.

Unquestionably the Battle of Kadesh-Naphtali preceded

that of Ta'anach, though by how long a period it is impossible to determine. For not only was the natural and logical trend of tribal federation from a small group of two tribes to a larger group of six, but also, had Ta'anach preceded Kēdesh-Naphtali, we certainly would have reason to expect that not merely two, but at least six, tribes would have participated in the Battle of Kēdesh-Naphtali¹⁰. Certainly Deborah, Barak, Jael, and Sisera are integral figures in the ancient poem in Judges 5, and consequently in the Battle of Ta'anach which it describes. Equally certainly, the leader of the Canaanite forces at the Battle of Kēdesh-Naphtali was Jabin of Haṣor. Who the Israelite leader in this battle was cannot be determined, other than that he must have been a member of one of the two participating tribes, Zebulun or Naphtali. Nor can anything be determined as to the details of the battle, other than that it resulted in a complete victory for the two Israelite tribes, broke the power of the Canaanite city-states in the

¹⁰ That the Battle of Kēdesh-Naphtali preceded the Battle of Ta'anach may perhaps be inferred also from the fact that Joshua 11 ascribes this victory to Joshua, implying thereby that it was won in the early period of the sojourn of the tribes in Canaan. That the Battle of Ta'anach, far more important, so far as the consequences were concerned, was not in similar manner also ascribed to Joshua, was probably because it happened too late, and was still too definitely remembered at the time when national traditions as to the early tribal period were shaping themselves.

The strange and seemingly superfluous second reference to Zebulun and Naphtali in Judges 5. 18, after both tribes had apparently been sufficiently referred to in vers. 14 f., may possibly be due to an even earlier attempt to identify the two battles than that in Judges 4 (cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, 156 f.). The expression מְרוֹמֵי שָׂדֶה, the heights of the field, of Judges 5. 18, would describe the topography of the site of the Battle of Kēdesh-Naphtali at whatever spot in the tableland of Naphtali it may have been fought, much better than the site of the Battle of Ta'anach in the low-lying Kishon Valley.

Galilean highlands completely, and permanently established Zebulun and Naphtali in that district.

Similarly, the great victory at Ta'anach broke the Canaanite power in the Kishon Valley. The capture of Jerusalem by David caused the greater part of the southern Canaanite strip to pass into Israelite hands, although Gezer, on the western edge, held out until the reign of Solomon.¹¹ Shechem and Gibeon, other Canaanite strongholds, were apparently absorbed gradually in Israel.¹² In this way, it would seem, the greater part of Canaan passed finally into Israelite possession.¹³

¹¹ 1 Kings 9. 15.

¹² Joshua 9; Judges 9; 1 Sam. 21.

¹³ In passing, I cannot refrain from referring to Professor Haupt's interesting and stimulating presidential address before the American Oriental Society, 'Armageddon' (*JAOS.*, 34, 412-27). While I find myself in agreement with a number of his conclusions, and particularly with that, that the several references to Jahwe in Judges 5 were not parts of the original poem, I cannot subscribe to all his conclusions, and especially not to that, that מָרוֹחַ of Judges 5. 23 and מָרוֹם of Joshua 11. 5, 7 are corruptions of מָגֵדוֹ. Largely as a result of this identification, Haupt concludes that Joshua 11 and Judges 4 and 5 are merely three different versions of one single battle. That I cannot follow him in this, this paper of course shows.

THE RABBINATE OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.
LONDON, FROM 1756-1842.

BY DR. C. DUSCHINSKY, London.

R. Hirschel as Chief Rabbi of Berlin.

HE was elected Chief Rabbi of Berlin and the provinces, his title being 'Oberlandesrabbiner'. The first clause in the Contract stipulates that his chief duty should be to attend the Bet-Hamidrash, to study and teach Torah to old and young and to deliver a special talmudic discourse at the beginning of every term (בפולא חריפתא). His duties were further (§2 of Contract) to preach on Sabbath Haggadol and Sabbath Teshubah, for which he received additional remuneration. He had to administer the Jewish law in religious matters as well as in civil disputes brought before him. Amongst his obligations was also the reading of the Tal, Geshem, and Neilah services. The custom for the Rabbi to read the Neilah service at the conclusion of Atonement-day is still in force in orthodox congregations, while the reading by the Rabbi of the Tal and Geshem services was not general, and has since entirely been abandoned. It does not seem to have been usual even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is not mentioned in Rabbi Ezekiel Landau's 'Rabbinical Letter' when he was elected Chief Rabbi of Prague (edited by Kaufmann in Yearbook *Haeshkol*, I, pp. 177 ff.). In the Synagogue he had his seat on the left side of the ark, and was called up to the reading of the Law every Sabbath to the third portion (Shelishi). His salary was 50 Thaler a month (1 Thaler was 6 Gulden = approximately 10s., the

yearly salary was consequently about £300) from the Berlin community, but other congregations belonging to the district paid him additional remuneration. A separate fee was due to him for every function performed and for every decision given by the Bet Din.

In Berlin his fame as a scholar was soon established and to his Yeshibah flocked students from far and wide. In those days, when hardly any Rabbi possessed even a superficial knowledge in secular subjects, our Rabbi, who was well read in various branches of worldly literature, was regarded as a phenomenon. Even a knowledge of Hebrew grammar was unusual and was regarded as an innovation, which laid any Rabbi open to suspicion as fraternizing with the 'Modernisers'. Mendelssohn was then at the zenith of his career, and R. Hirschel was not afraid to give an approbation to his edition of the German translation of the Bible, which called forth a strong protest from many Rabbis of Poland, Austria, and even Germany. This approbation was signed the 12th of Elul, 1778, and the Bible was printed in Berlin in 1783. R. Hirschel hails the publication as a necessity from the *Jewish* point of view. All the nations, he says, have prepared translations of the Bible, and such Jews as desire to read a German translation had to use those of Christians which contain many mis-translations due to theological bias, and entirely contrary to Jewish tradition. The Yiddish translation published, with the sanction of the Four-lands-Synod, in 1679, gives no satisfaction to those who speak a grammatical German. He recommends the translation and praises the skill and efficiency of Mendelssohn. Whilst in Halberstadt R. Hirschel had already become an admirer of Mendelssohn, as may be seen from a letter of Gleim, the poet, to

F. E. Boysen, a priest, written in August, 1770, in which he states that the Rabbi admired the Socrates of Berlin and was proud of the fact that this Genius had sprung from his race. (See Landshut, p. 83, reprinted from Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, vol. X, 1872, p. 232). Gleim's opinion of R. Hirschel is worth quoting from this letter. 'The views of this man regarding Jewish scholarship are, you may believe me, thorough, profound, and vigorous. There is nothing treacherous, nothing false, nothing misanthropic about him, and as far as I know, he is naturally good and honest. Herr Loebel wishes, my friend, that you should know the great worth of the old teachers of his people in the same way as you know and appreciate Mendelssohn's merits in philosophy, and he has asked me to tell you that he so wishes.'

When, in 1777, the civil jurisdiction of the Rabbis was abolished and vested in the ordinary courts of justice, the Government asked the Chief Rabbi Hirschel Lewin to compile an excerpt of the Jewish Laws on inheritance, wills, trusts, and marriages. At R. Hirschel's request Mendelssohn compiled a treatise dealing with these matters. Apparently Mendelssohn did the whole work himself, although the book, under the title *Ritual-Gesetze der Juden*, was published as having been written by the Rabbi. (Berlin, 1778. See Kayserling's *Moses Mendelssohn*, p. 281.) The friendly relations³⁸ between Mendelssohn and the Rabbi

³⁸ A proof of the friendly relations between them is in the London Bet-Hamidrash library in form of a manuscript volume, containing Hebrew translations of some of Aristotle's works presented by Moses ben Menahem of Dessau to Zevi Hirsch, Rabbi of Berlin, as Purim-present in 5533 = 1773. (See Neubauer, *Catalogue*, No. 43, 4, p. 18.) Ber Goldberg, in *Hammagid*, 1879, p. 54, states that he saw a book in London which Mendelssohn presented to R. Hirschel; he probably refers to this manuscript.

became strained when the latter attacked Mendelssohn's friend Naphtali Herz Wessely, for having written a letter entitled 'Words of Peace and Truth' (דברי שלום ואמת). The letter (printed in Berlin, 1782) owed its origin to the following circumstances. When the Emperor Joseph II of Austria issued, in 1780, his 'Toleranz-Edict' in which he promised the Jews of Austria full political rights 'as soon as they were worthy of it', he ordered them to establish German schools and to train their children in handicrafts. This was regarded by the strictly orthodox Jews as an onslaught on their religion. If their children will have to learn German and other 'Goyish' things, they will have no time and also no inclination to study the Law, the religion of their Fathers. They thought that the order to establish schools was only a pretence and was really aimed at the destruction of the Torah and intended to make their children irreligious (Goyim). It was then that Naphtali Herz Wessely issued his 'Words of Peace and Truth', in which he asked his people not to disregard the Emperor's wishes. He endeavoured to disperse the anxiety for their religion and explained that they could just as well keep their religion in speaking a correct and grammatical as a corrupt German, namely Yiddish. Many listened to his words. Most of the Rabbis of Galicia, however, raised their voices against Wessely as they had against Mendelssohn's Bible translation. Later events proved that the apprehensions of the Rabbis were well founded. The Emperor Joseph's attempt to force his own culture upon the Jews of Austria and Galicia was ill-judged. He was a liberal and high-minded man, who would have liked to see all the people under his rule civilized, educated, and happy. But his methods in achieving this end were

too rapid. He recognized this, for with one stroke of the pen he revoked before his death all his reforms. As far as the Jews were concerned, instead of giving them at once liberty and full political rights, and thus an opportunity of acquiring knowledge, he forced upon them schools of the prevalent type, with teachers, who were not conforming Jews and who did their utmost to alienate the Jewish children from their faith. It is from that time that the aversion of the Galician orthodox Jews to secular studies dates, for it was not so in earlier times. When Haham Zevi was elected Rabbi of Lemberg, he was praised for being able to speak to the Government officials in their own language. They were far-seeing men, the Rabbis of the eighteenth century, who did not believe in taking the Jew right out of the Ghetto and making a modern scholar of him.

Rabbi Hirschel probably foresaw the danger which threatened the Galician Jews. Although himself a lover of secular studies, he did not believe in the too sudden modernization of the Jew. Possibly the expectations he had placed in Mendelssohn's Bible-translation were not realized, many young Jews were unsettled in their religious belief by the desire to become German scholars.³⁹ He may even have regretted having given his approbation to the Bible-translation. When Wessely was attacked by the eastern Rabbis, and the Rabbi of Prague, R. Ezekiel Landau, had excommunicated him for supporting the Emperor Joseph's reform, Hirschel likewise protested against this friend of Mendelssohn. Possibly he was urged to this by these Rabbis and felt that if he remained

³⁹ See Bernfeld, *Biography of S. J. Rapaport*: חולדות יש"ר, Berlin, 1899, p. 3.

silent he would be risking his reputation as an orthodox Rabbi. Whatever may have been the reason, the fact remains that he joined in the general attack against Wessely and tried to stop him from printing his works. He even did his best to have him expelled from Berlin; Mendelssohn, however, intervened on his behalf. He induced the Minister von Zedlitz to write to Daniel Itzig, President of the Berlin Jewish community, in Wessely's interest, and this intervention, as well as several letters by Mendelssohn to David Friedlaender, secured peace to the much harassed scholar.⁴⁰ There appeared anonymously a small pamphlet called כתב ישר 'A just letter', in which the author satirically deals with the question of learning Hebrew grammar and speaking German correctly. It is in the form of a dialogue between an ultra-orthodox Rabbi and a modern youth, and was a vindication of Wessely's 'Dibre Shalom'. The author was no other than R. Hirschel's son Saul, Rabbi in Frankfort on the Oder. This son was to cause our Rabbi other anxieties also. He attacked the well-known Raphael Cohen, Rabbi of the threefold congregation Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck in an anonymous booklet entitled *Mizpeh Fekutiel*, which was a strong attack against the book *Torat Fekutiel* (Berlin, 1772), and its author R. Raphael Cohen, whom he accuses not only of having written a large book on trifling matters, and of inaccuracy, but also of deciding religious questions contrary to Law and of having been guilty of plagiarism. The book was published by Isaac, son of Daniel Jaffe, and his brother-in-law David Friedlaender, two friends of Mendelssohn. As author figures nominally Obadiah son of Rabbi Baruch from Poland, the real author, however,

⁴⁰ See Kayserling, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff.

being Rabbi Saul ben Hirschel. In the month of Adar, 5549 (1789) the book left the press (see Zedner, p. 619) and was sent out broadcast to all prominent Rabbis. In Hamburg, where Raphael Cohen was highly respected, it caused great consternation, and it seemed unjust that a book, that had been printed and known for sixteen years previously, should form the ground for such a violent attack on the honour and scholarly reputation of the Hamburg Rábbi. The Bet Din of Hamburg promptly issued a *Herem* (ban) against the book *Mizpeh Jekutiel* and its author. R. Hirschel himself was greatly annoyed at this slanderous book, and, not knowing who the real author was, prepared to sign a *Herem* against him, when one of his friends, R. Meir Weil, whispered to him, 'Oh, my Master, it is Saul' (2 Kings 6. 5; see Landshut, p. 91, cited by H. Adler in his 'Chief Rabbis of England', in *Jewish Hist. Exhib. Papers*, p. 283). The father had not the heart to issue a ban against his own son. Landshut gives as reason for this, that he regarded him to be of unsound mind (*ibid.*, p. 92). Saul, however, proclaimed in a second pamphlet the right of the author of the *Mizpeh* to criticize any work by any Rabbi, and states that there were no grounds and no justification for excommunicating the author. The booklet, consisting of 16 pages in 8vo., entitled *Teshubah of R. Saul to Rabbi Moses*, was printed in Berlin, 1789 (Zedner, p. 682). On pp. 15–16 appears a letter from his father, which is a confession that his son was the author. He says: 'Do you suspect me not to have joined the *Herem* for personal reasons? Thank God, everybody knows that in anything that concerns the honour of God and his Torah I would not regard the interest of either my brothers or my sons. The *Herem* would only increase

strife in Israel and give reformers an opportunity to laugh at "Talmide Hhakamim" (scholars).' The whole letter, however, contains nothing which constitutes a valid defence of his son. With the same object R. Hirschel next published two more letters, both from anonymous writers, purporting to come, one from a Rabbi in Germany and the other from a Rabbi in Poland, together with a Responsum of his own (Landshut, pp. 94-9), in which he states that the author of the *Mizpeh* proves by his work that he is a great scholar. He, R. Hirschel, is aware of the fact that the author studies Torah day and night, that he wrote his criticism in true religious enthusiasm and in the conviction that certain passages in the *Torat Yekutiel* might be construed as decisions against the traditional Law. The critical writer of *Mizpeh Yekutiel* raised his voice against these points in honesty and religious fervour without fear of causing to himself harm, inconvenience and pecuniary losses. His language may have been too aggressive, and I do not approve of that; nevertheless, there is no justification for excommunication.' He warns his congregants not to take any notice of the same, and that anybody who regards the author as subject to the ban, deserves to be, and is to be regarded as excommunicated. A letter from R. Ezekiel Landau of Prague to R. Saul follows this decision = פסק ג"ן. Landau says in this letter that a controversy between two great scholars cannot form a ground for excommunication, but reproves the author for having used offensive language against a great Rabbi. This letter is dated the 29th of Sivan, 5550 (Landshut, p. 98). There is also another letter in a similar strain which the Prague Rabbi wrote to Saul on Elul the 17th, 5549 (*ibid.* p. 99), R. Saul himself wrote an apologetic

Responsum on the matter, which was published in the *Hameaseph*, 1790 (p. 222). He is mentioned there as Rabbi of Frankfort and refers to the forthcoming publication of a volume of Responsa, the famous *בסא דהרסנא*. This work he had printed at the same office as the *Mizpeh Jekutiel*, namely in the *Verlag der Jüdischen Freyschule*, called *חברת חנוך נערים*, at Berlin in 1793, and brought still more trouble upon himself and grief and annoyance to his respected father. The full title of the book is, '*Responsa Besamim Rosh*, 392 Responsa by great teachers, mostly by R. Asher b. Jehiel⁴¹ which were collected by Rabbi Isaac di Molina, a great scholar of the time of the Bet Joseph;⁴² printed with notes and additions, called *בסא דהרסנא*,⁴³ by Saul, son of Zevi Hirsch, Chief Rabbi of this Town'.

Soon after its publication doubts were expressed as to whether the great Rabbis had actually written the Responsa attributed to them. Wolf Landsberg, formerly Rabbi of Wallerstein, published a booklet called *Zeeb Fitrof* = *זאב יטרוף*, and pointed out that the author of the book declared lawful certain matters which are really forbidden according to Jewish law. 'If the author of the book had had any regard for his father', says Landsberg, 'he would not have done such a thing.' Rabbi Mordecai Baneth, Chief Rabbi of Moravia, went further and declared⁴⁴ that the whole book was a forgery by R. Saul, denying that either Asheri or Isaac di Molina had ever written or seen these Responsa. R. Saul had stated in the preface that

⁴¹ Called 'Rosh', died in Toledo, 1327.

⁴² Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulhan Aruk* and *Bet Joseph* to *Turim*; born in Spain 1488, died in Safed Nisan 1575.

⁴³ Literally: a tasty dish. Cp. Talm. B. Bezah 16a and Abodah Z., p. 38a.

⁴⁴ See *Literaturblatt d. Orients*, 1844, pp. 53 and 140.

when in Piemonte some years before, he bought the MS. from a Turkish Rabbi called Hayyim b. Jonah Sabi. R. Hirschel thereupon again issues a booklet in defence of his son and calls heaven and earth as witnesses that he, personally, had the MS. copied by his son R. Solomon (Solomon Herschel, later Rabbi in London) and that he himself had prepared an index to the work while in Piemonte.⁴⁵ Some of the people who now write against it and attack the editor had seen the MS. and had read it with pleasure. If it were as the enemies of his son allege, then *he* would be the guilty party for having assented to the publication and given his approbation to the book. Landshut remarks on this (p. 104) that he was at a loss to understand how R. Hirschel could have written in this manner. Azulai, Straschun, Zunz have fully proved that the Responsa attributed to Asheri and other early scholars were never written by them.

R. Saul seems to have lost his position as Rabbi in Frankfort-on-Oder soon after the publication of the *Mizpeh Jekutiel*. In *Hameaseph*, 1790 (p. 222), he is still mentioned as holding that position, while in the title to the volume of forged Responsa there is no mention of his then being Rabbi at Frankfort. It would seem that by the publication of the *Mizpeh* he had already lost whatever respect and esteem he had possessed in his community. He, apparently, moved to Berlin prior to 1793, because he describes himself in the title of the Responsa as 'Saul b. Hirschel, Rabbi of *our* congregation'. But even in Berlin his residence was made unpleasant after the publication of the latter work.

⁴⁵ He writes : פירמוןר ; I have found no other reference of his sojourn in Piemonte or any reason for his journey there. He states in 1791 that it was a matter of ten years previously.

For in it ideas which evidently belonged to the Mendelssohn school are propounded as coming from Asheri, whose aversion to all secular learning is well known. The falsification is in some places even clumsy. References are made to circumstances which did not exist in those bygone days, but which existed at the time of Mendelssohn and R. Saul. (See Brann in *Graetz-Fubelschrift*, p. 257; cp., however, Straschun in Fuenn's *Kiryah Neemanah*, p. 296, and S. J. Rapaport in Biography of Nathan Hababli, Note 13. The latter scholars praise Saul as scholar and clever head.)

R. Saul, seeing himself abandoned by his friends, left Berlin and proceeded to London, where, a few years later, his brother R. Solomon Herschel was elected Rabbi of the Ashkenazim. In Halle he became so ill that he made his will. However, he reached London, where he died soon after his arrival on the 23rd of Heshvan (16th November), 5555 = 1794. His name is still mentioned in the Hazkarah recited for the Rabbis on Holy days. Michelsohn (*Zevi Las.*, p. 176) doubts the veracity of the statement that he ever came to London. We have, however, the testimony of a scholar named Meyer Joseph, who states that he visited him there repeatedly before his death,⁴⁶ and published his will in

⁴⁶ See *Literaturblatt d. Orients*, 1844, p. 714 and H. Adler, *loc. cit.*, p. 284. A letter by Meir Joseph is printed in *Kerem Chemed*, IV, p. 239. See also I. Abrahams in *JQR.*, vol. III, p. 471. Meyer Joseph was also known as Michael Josephs, and was generally called Meyer Königsberg. He was a native of Königsberg (Oct. 8, 1761), came to London 1781, and was one of the founders of the Free School. (Information of Mr. Israel Davis. See also *Jew. Enc.*, vol. VII, p. 274.) Dr. L. Lowe in *Kerem Chemed*, vol. IV, p. 232, mentions that Meir Joseph had one son in China and another in New York. Joseph translated into Hebrew the Statutes of Dukes Place Synagogue (London, 1827) and was author of an English and Hebrew Lexicon, entitled *מדרש מלים* (London, 1834). Steinschneider in *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, vol. V, p. 39

Orient. Literaturblatt, 1844. Moreover, apart from the will, Meyer Joseph published an elegy on the death of R. Saul, "קול דמעה על מות שאול בחיר ה", in three verses of six lines each. Joseph adds hereafter: 'It was in the year 1794 when this exceptional man died here, and I think I have a right to publish this article as I was the only friend he had here. He was on a long journey, the object of which I do not remember any more, and intended also to stay in London for some time. I visited him daily, we remained often together for hours at a time, and, although I am now (in 1844) 83 years old,⁴⁷ the impression he made upon me, his eloquence and his whole personality remain unforgettable to me. A few months after his arrival he fell ill with cramp (*Krämpfe*) and it was I who closed his dying eyes. On his death the London community paid him respect. He was buried with great honours on the 25th of Heshvan, 1794. On arranging the things he left behind him I found this will, which I then copied for myself'. The will stipulates that R. Saul wished to be buried in his clothes, just as he would be found, in some forest far away from the graves of other men. The will was not found until some time after his burial, as Dr. Abrahams already pointed out in *JQR.*, III, p. 371.

mentions that: 'The London Jews College Library was enriched by several hundred volumes from the library of the late Meir Joseph (died 1849) presented by his son Walter'. Leopold Dukes wrote a memoir about M. J. in *Orient. Litb.*, 1850, pp. 7-10 in which he describes him as a charming personality, who was a protector of every Jewish scholar who visited London. 'His house was a meeting-place of Jewish students in London, where otherwise the study of the Talmud was an unusual thing'. Dukes also wrote his tombstone-inscription which is reproduced at the end of the memoir.

⁴⁷ *Jew. Enc.*, VII, p. 274, gives M. Joseph's date of birth as 1863. It was according to this, his own testimony, 1761.

Saul was the son-in-law of Joseph Jonas Fraenkel, Landrabbiner of Silesia in Breslau (born 1721, died 20th October, 1793), having married his eldest daughter Sarah (born 1744), and having thus become nephew of the famous R. David Oppenheimer, Chief Rabbi of Prague, whose wife was Rabbi Fränkel's sister (Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, p. 96, note 1). R. Saul had a son called Aryeh Judah Loebusch or Lewin, who afterwards succeeded his grandfather and was the last of the Chief Rabbis of the province of Silesia. This Aryeh Loebusch, likewise, had a very sad end. Born in 1765 he spent his childhood with his maternal grandfather at Breslau, later he became a pupil of his grandfather R. Hirschel in Berlin and spent also some time in Frankfort-on-Main at the Yeshibah of Rabbi Phinehas Horowitz,⁴⁸ teacher of the famous Moses Sofer known as the Hatam Sofer.⁴⁹ He became Rabbi of Dubienka in Poland and on the 3rd of July, 1800, Lewi Saul Fraenkel, as he was officially styled, was elected as 'Chief Rabbi of the Province of Silesia with the exception of Breslau and *Locum Tenens* of the Rosh-Bet-din of Breslau' (Brann., *ibid.*, p. 267). Like his father, he had an inclination for the modern Mendelssohn type of Judaism. In the preface to the book *Or Enayim* of Solomon Peniel, a work on mysticism, he mentions nearly all the Greek philosophers, modern classics and scientists in one breath with the Rabbis of olden and recent times in the obvious desire to impress the reader with his profound knowledge in all subjects. A sound Talmudist and good Hebrew writer he read without any system all kinds of secular books, and probably

⁴⁸ Called the 'Haflaah' after a book he published.

⁴⁹ Born in Frankfort a. M. 1763, died as Rabbi of Pressburg, 25th Tishri, 5600 (Oct. 3, 1839).

thereby unbalanced his mind. When in 1807 the Sanhedrin of Paris was summoned by Napoleon to discuss the modernization of Judaism, Lewin received a passport to travel there 'on family matters' for which he had asked, on the ground that a relative of his, a certain Carl Anton von Pavly, had died in Paris and left a considerable fortune, to part of which he was entitled. Before his departure, however, he addressed 'a letter to his coreligionists referring to the latest, most wonderful, events in the Christian world'. He is overjoyed at Napoleon's happy inspiration to summon the Sanhedrin, and says: 'You can profit from such Christians, upon whom rests the Spirit of God! Examine, therefore, carefully the resolutions of the Sanhedrin and listen to their appeal'. In the further course of this letter⁵⁰ he advocates a general reform of *all* religions, in which Jews and Christians, Turks and idol worshippers should all unite into one universal religion. In spite of this plea he later tries to prove that Jesus was a descendant of the house of David. This made his position quite clear to everybody. Although he still uses the title of 'Oberlandesrabbiner von Schlesien' the Jews had long ceased to regard him as one of their own. Already in 1796, before he was appointed in Breslau, his grandfather, R. Hirschel, to whom he had announced his intention of visiting him, writes to him on the 13th of Tammuz to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, that he does not wish him to come, especially after 'the great thing (מעשה רב) which he had lately been guilty of'.⁵¹ We do not know what 'important event' he refers to, but it would appear that his grandfather was ashamed of him, and that he was

⁵⁰ This letter was published in Breslau by Adolf Gehr in 1807 and consisted of sixteen pages.

⁵¹ See *Zevi Laz.*, p. 176.

afraid of what people would say if he were to receive this grandson in his house. In 1809 the *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter* published the announcement that 'Lewi Saulssohn Fraenkel having, by virtue of his altered religious persuasion, embraced Christianity, resigns his post as Chief Rabbi of Silesia'. What became of him during the next six years is not known. The tale goes that he repented soon after his conversion and spent his life as a beggar wandering from town to town, and everywhere spending his time at the Bet-Hamidrash studying Talmud. He made notes in the books he read and these were always excellent, proving the writer to be a great scholar.

When the Rabbis found these notes and inquired after the writer he usually had already left the town. Like Cain he had no rest on earth, never slept where he had spent the day, always disappearing before night set in. In 1815 he arrived, a complete wreck in body and mind, at the Jewish hospital at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he died as true Baal Teshubah (repentant) on the 27th of Heshvan, 5576 (30th November, 1815).

But now to return to R. Hirschel Lewin. The scandals caused by his son, Saul, embittered his life. Although there was no animosity against him personally, the part he took in defending his son's literary falsifications probably caused many of his former friends to turn against him. His position had become still more unpleasant when the Rabbis of Poland and Germany publicly protested against Wessely's *Dibré Shalom*. Among the letters which Rabbi Tevele Schiff, R. Zevi Hirsch's successor as Rabbi in London, wrote to his brother, R. Meir Dayan in Frankfort, is one which is of special interest, and throws a clear light on the whole affair. The

letter is dated the 20th of Elul, 1782 (see Appendix to part II), and R. Tevele writes there with reference to R. Hirschel as follows: 'It is now known here all about the Rabbi's departure from Berlin. I have seen a copy of the letter which he left behind with instructions that the same should not be opened until six days after his departure. He is now said to be in Vienna, and from the letter it appears he intends going to the Holy Land. I have also seen a letter from the Rabbi of Lissa to the Rabbi of Amsterdam, as also a copy of a sermon of the former, in which he blames R. Herz Wessely, and strongly disapproves of his letter. This sermon is very clearly written, full of wise and pious words, and carefully construed so as not to commit an offence against the Emperor (Joseph II). From the letter and sermon of the Rabbi of Lissa it appears that they did the same in Posen (preach against Herz Wessely), and in Vilna they burnt the letter of R. Herz Wessely outside the town by order of the famous Gaon R. Eliah; also that the Rabbi of Prague likewise preached about it at first, but now he is obliged to remain quiet, is only acting secretly, and induces other famous Rabbis to condemn him (i. e. Wessely).—After all this it is easily to understand that the Rabbi of Berlin could not continue in his office, and left. If you can send me a copy of the proclamation issued there (namely, at the Synagogue of Frankfort) I should be glad to receive it.' Rabbi Hirschel's letter, which is printed in Landshut's work, sets forth the reasons for his leaving in a slightly different form. He says that he saw he could not improve the religious status of the congregation. Especially difficult had become his task since reform had raised up its head and estranged the young

people from their faith. He had decided to migrate to Palestine, and asked the leaders of the community to forgive him for not leaving with a solemn farewell. The answer of the Parnasim is not extant; they, however, succeeded in inducing him to return to Berlin and remain in office until his death on Monday the 4th of Elul, 5560 = 1800. He had spent his life as Rabbi of the most important congregations then existing. His fame as a Rabbi and leader was known far and wide throughout Jewry and, still, all his life he had hated being a Rabbi. Nevertheless, or on account of this, he devoted all his life to promoting the welfare of his people, bearing high the standard of the Torah, which he loved from the depth of his heart. He was the last of the Chief Rabbis of Berlin. A brilliant preacher and great scholar, he commanded respect wherever he appeared. Although in later years he always writes in unhappy strain, there are many little bonmots of his in circulation showing that he possessed a deep sense of humour. In many sermons he offers witty interpretations of biblical and talmudic sayings: "בדרך הלצי". In a discourse given in Berlin (*Zevi Laz.*, p. 142) he admonished his congregants to restraint. They should not follow what their hearts desire, and not always desire what their eyes see. The Jezer Hara, the evil spirit, is alive in everybody and must be kept in check by strict adhesion to the Torah and religious precepts. 'Once I met a man, he says, who seemed familiar to me, but I did not remember where I had previously seen him. He was then very downhearted and low-spirited. Some time later I beheld the same man and saw him running busily about the streets. He only nodded to me and ran away. I met him again a short while ago here in Berlin. He was sitting in a restaurant, treating himself

well. I asked him who he was, and why he had avoided me when I met him before. He answered: "I am the evil spirit, the Jezer Hara. The first time I saw you was in Halberstadt, which is a very religious community and business was not at all prosperous with me, as I hardly had any customers and felt so downhearted that I would not speak to anybody. When you next saw me it was in Mannheim. There I had plenty to do, for the people were inclined to listen to my persuasions and I was busy all day long and, therefore, could not stop to speak to you. Here, in Berlin, I have, at last, found satisfaction, the whole Kehillah readily follows me and I can now enjoy myself". So far as we are concerned it seems a pity that R. Hirschel does not state what opinion the Jezer Hara had of London Jews.

LITERARY ACTIVITY.

His literary activity was many-sided. Halakic responsa of his are to be found in many of the contemporary collections, a list of which is given in the book *Zevi Lazzaddik*, by Michelssohn (pp. 151-2). He used to make extensive notes in all the books he studied from, and many of these are preserved in the Bet-Hamidrash library in London. So far the book *Zevi Lazzaddik* is the only complete work of his which was separately published, and this is also more of the nature of a collection. It contains talmudic notes, some responsa and sermons, copied from various manuscripts in the Bet-Hamidrash library. The appendix contains biographical notes by the editor Michelssohn, who claims to be one of the Rabbi's descendants, under the title 'Bet Zaddik'. Besides these the book contains many occasional verses, some of them humorous. Interesting is a poem on Purim

entitled *בת היין ומוסר לפורים* 'The daughter of wine (or a barrel of wine) and a moral for Purim'. This is a warning against the custom of getting drunk and disorderly on Purim under the pretext of fulfilling a Mizwah, based on the talmudical saying: Everybody must drink wine on Purim until he does not know the difference between *מורדכי* 'Cursed be Haman and blessed be Mordecai' (Talmud b. Megillah 7 b). He points out that the sages never intended this saying to be taken literally. The festivities of Purim bore a holy character in olden times and not like at present, when people only keep that part of Purim which refers to eating and drinking (and to do what they like to do).⁵²

A short elegy on 'Zion in Ruins' is given in the book *Bet Meshullam*, edited by the same Rabbi Michelsohn in Pietrkow, 1905 (p. 57), where the editor also prints a list of homeopathic remedies and charms, some of them Kabbalistic, similar to the recipes contained in MS. Adler 2286 (pp. 133 ff.).⁵³ The Bet-Hamidrash library which consists mainly of the late Solomon Herschel's books and manuscripts has several MS. written by R. Hirschel. The MSS. of this library were catalogued by the late Dr. Neubauer and the Catalogue was published under the misleading title *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Jews' College, London* (Oxford, 1886). Under 'Jews' College' is meant the Bet-Hamidrash in Mulberry

⁵² Of the further contents of the book are to be noted: Pages 1-13 haggadic notes to the Pentateuch, pp. 32-91 Talmudic collectanea and responsa, among which the editor interweaves some of his own. On pp. 92-140 are haggadic discourses, among them one for Sabbath before Passover, 5544, held in Berlin (p. 108), another held in Mannheim, 5530 (p. 117), one to the Penitential Sabbath, 5531, likewise given in Mannheim, while pp. 154-6 contain small verses, some of them already previously published.

⁵³ About this manuscript see Appendix II.

Street and not the Institute known as Jews' College.⁵⁴ MS. No 22 contains notes on the Turim copied from the margins of the books belonging to the R. Zevi Hirsch of Berlin. On folio 140 of this MS. is to be found the will of R. Leb Norden, Jacob Emden's friend. This will was published by Dr. Israel Abrahams in *JQR.*, IV, p. 341. Michelsohn mentions another MS. written by R. Hirschel which is in the possession of M. Isaac Beharier of Lodz, and contains discourses held in London in the year 1756 on the occasion of his installation, and on the following Sabbath Haggadol and Sabbath Teshubah and thus seems to complement MS. Adler 1248. The British Museum possesses a copy of Sabbatai Bass's *Sifte Feshenim* with manuscript notes by R. Zevi b. Aryeh. The Order of Service at the consecration of the New Synagogue, on the 13th of September, 1838, contains the 'Consecration Anthem composed in Hebrew by the late Rev. Dr. (!) H. Hirschel'. This Anthem is reprinted in the Order of Service of the reopenings of the New Synagogue on the 2nd of September 1847 (ה' כ"א אלול תר"ז), and of the 6th of September 1855 (ה' כ"ג אלול תרט"ו), also in the Order of Service at the Opening of the Branch of the Great Synagogue Portland Street, London, on March 29, 1855, and frequently since. Mr. Israel Solomons possesses a poem by R. Hirschel to be used at the consecration of a Sefer Torah. It was

⁵⁴ No. 24 of Neubauer, *Cat.*, contains responsa to R. Herz Pintschow, and on folio 41 has the date Venice, 1744; folio 42 is dated Rovigo. Page 18, No. 43, 4 is a manuscript which was presented to R. Hirschel by Moses Mendelssohn. At the sale of the property of the late R. Solomon Herschel in March, 1843, was sold a small Kiddush-cup 'containing the medal of the Emperor Vespasian commemorating the conquest of Judea, presented by the great Mendelssohn to the father of the late Rabbi'. It fetched five guineas. Some of R. Hirschel's poems are published in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, others in *Hamagid*, XIV, under the title: נחלת צבי.

used פ' נשא 1819, by his son R. Solomon Herschel, and was printed under the title שיר מומור, by H. Barnett, St. James's Place, Aldgate.⁵⁵ Two letters by R. Hirschel referring to the quick burial of the dead, dated November 9th, 1794, are printed in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Judenthums in Deutschland*, vol. III, pp. 216 ff.

Approbations R. Hirschel gave to the following works :

דרכי דוד by R. David b. Raphael Meldola, Amsterdam, 1793 (appr. dated Amsterdam, 17 Elul, 1757).

Pentateuch, Amsterdam (Proops), 1764 (dated Halberst., 27 Tammuz, 1764).

Responsa Maimonides, פאר הרור, Amsterdam, 1765 (dated Halberst., 22 Shebat, 1765).

ס' שפתי רננות of Isaac b. Moses Satanow, Berlin, 1773 (dated Berlin, 6 Elul, 1773).

Job with Commentary (זה ספר פשר דבר), Berlin, 1777 (dated 4 Adar, 1777).

ס' חקי חיים of Hājim b. Josua Cohen (dated 28 Adar II, 1777).

ס' עמודי שמים, by Baruk b. Jacob, Berlin, 1777 (dated 27 Tebat, 1777).

הי' ר' ניסים על מס' גמין, Berlin, 1778 (dated 3 Kislev, 1777).

Pentateuch: נתיבות השלום ed. Mendelssohn with translation in German, Berlin, 1783 (dated 12 Elul, 1778).

Psalms: ומירות ישראל, Berlin, 1785-90 (dated 15 Heshvan, 1783).

Pentateuch with Commentaries, ed. Frankfort-on-Oder, 1784 (dated 22 Tammuz, 1784).

ס' נאות קודש, by Simon b. Nata Walisch, Berlin, 1786 (21 Elul, 1786).

⁵⁵ The *Sefer Torah* was presented by ז"ל יוסף = Seml Josephs. The booklet consists of 16 pages 12°. There are seven poems, one for each הקפה, each consisting of six verses, dealing with the objects of the Revelation and the value of Torah for Israel and the world in general.

אמרי בינה of Isaac Satanow, Berlin, 1784 (17 Shebat, 1784; contains also an approbation by Rabbi Saul, Rabbi of Frankfort-on-Oder).

Responsa: מים עמוקים of R. Eliah Mizrahi, &c, Berlin, 1777 (19 Sivan, 1777).

מחברת מנחם, Berlin, 1778 (dated 13 Heshvan, 1778).

ס' מלול, Hebrew Grammar by Hajjim b. Naphtali Coeslin, Berlin, 1788 (dated 1788, no month and day given).

Responsa: בשמים ראש, Berlin, 1793 (see above), (dated 1793).

כליל החשבון of David b. Meir Friesenhausen (about whom cp. now C. Duschinsky: תולדות יעקב, London, 1918, p. 27), Berlin, 1796 (dated 18 Ab, 1796).

חוקי חיים by R. Jacob Hajjim b. Josua Cohen, Berlin, 1796 (dated 28 Adar II).

ס' השרשים ed. Isaac Satanow, Berlin, 1787 (dated 26 Elul, 1783).

ס' שונה הלכות of R. Simon Kahira, ed. Amstd., 1762 (dated 30 Shevat, 522).

ס' מלין דרבנן ed. Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1781 (dated 28 Adar II, 1780).

(This list does not pretend to be complete.)

To the list of notes made by R. Levi to various works, enumerated by Landshut, p. 112, is to be added the Aruk, ed. Basel, which was used by Kohut; cp. *Aruk Completum*, Introd., p. liii.

His Family.

Rabbi Hirschel's first wife was, as already mentioned, Golde, daughter of David Tevele Cohen of Glogau. She died in Berlin on Thursday, 1st of April, 1794 (1st of Iyyar, 5554), and had borne him three sons and three daughters. R. Saul was the eldest son, the second was Abraham David Tevele, called Berliner, and the third was R. Solomon Hirschel, afterwards Rabbi in London. His three daughters were (1) Sarah, who married his nephew, Jacob Moses, son of his brother Saul, Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam; ⁵⁶ (2) Reisel,

⁵⁶ Jacob Moses was at first Rabbi in Filehne and afterwards succeeded his father as Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, where he died on the 15th of

wife of Ber Ginzburg, Rabbi of the province of Russia;⁵⁷ (3) Beilah, second wife of Mordecai, Rabbi of Tiktin. She was well versed in talmudic literature and an excellent Hebrew writer. It is reported that she held a Hespel (necrologue) on the death of Rabbi Asher of Wisin, and left a will written in classical Hebrew at present in the possession of a certain Berl Raschkas (Michelson, *ibid.*, p. 178, note 23). R. Hirschel's second son, David Tevele of Pietrkow, was a saintly and very charitable man. He was a well-to-do merchant with an extensive business, but all his free time was devoted to the study of the Torah. He was offered the post of Rabbi in Pietrkow, an important Jewish centre, but refused it. He died at the age of 85. Before his death he warned his children to keep away from the Law Courts. He never sued anybody, even if large sums were involved. A letter to him by his father is printed in *Zevi Lassaddik* (p. 178), dated Berlin 1790, and the certificate of 'Haber' given by R. Hirschel to David Tevele's son Aryeh Loeb is likewise to be found in the same work (p. 180) and bears the date 8th of Tammuz, 1791. Another son of David Tevele, Isaac Nathan, was for nearly fifty years Rabbi in Bielagora, and died there on the 9th of Iyyar, 1864. Many of R. Hirschel's descendants still occupy positions as Rabbis in Russian communities.⁵⁸

Adar II, 5575 = 1825. His wife Sarah died on Wednesday, the 8th of Elul, 1797, three years before her father's death.

⁵⁷ The Province of Russia was one of the four represented in the Four-Lands-Synods held in Poland and Russia. See Zunz: *עיר העזק*, p. 59, c. 20. It is the part called 'White Russia' on the borders of Poland'.

⁵⁸ R. Hirschel's second wife, whom he married in 1797, three years after his first wife's death, when he was 76 years old, was Sprinza, daughter of Abraham of Hildesheim, a descendant of Haham Zevi. After the Rabbi's death she married Zabel Eger, Rabbi of Braunschweig (Landshut, p. 114).

APPENDIX I

RABBI ZEVI HIRSCHEL LEWIN'S ANCESTRY.

HIS father was, as already stated, Rabbi Aryeh Loeb Loewenstamm. He was born in 1690, the son of Rabbi Saul then Rabbi in Lakatch, who later became Rabbi in Brisk, and in 1701 became successor of his father the great Rabbi Heschele Cracow. He was not very popular there for some unknown reason, and left Cracow three years later in 1704. For some years he lived in Breslau, and in 1707 he was elected as Rabbi of the Ashkenazim in Amsterdam. It was not his fate to officiate there. On his journey to Amsterdam he passed away in Glogau on the 17th of Iyyar, 1707. (See Landshut, p. 71; Dembitzer, II, p. 82; and Carmoly, . . העורבים, p. 34). His son Aryeh Loeb eventually held the office to which his father had been called. Aryeh Loeb's grandfather, Rabbi Heschele Cracow, was one of the greatest talmudical authorities of his time. Even the foremost scholars of his day—like R. Mendel Krochmal, Chief Rabbi of Moravia—living far away from his sphere of activity, accepted his decision in ritual matters. (See Resp., *Zemah Zedek*, No. 107, and Dembitzer, *loc. cit.*, II, 46 a.) Many people regarded him as a saint, and many are the tales of wonders and miracles woven around his name. His wife was the granddaughter of R. Saul Wahl, the famous 'one-day king' of Poland. R. Heschele at first acted as Rabbi in Lublin and Brisk, then migrated to Vienna in order to plead for help on behalf of his brethren in Poland. He remained in Vienna for some time and in 1665 became Rabbi of Cracow, where his son R. Saul succeeded him afterwards. R. Heschele was the son of Rabbi Jacob of

Lublin and grandson of R. Ephraim Naphtali Hirsch (died 1664) of Brisk.

R. Aryeh Loeb's wife was the daughter of the Ḥaham Zevi who likewise came of a family of great scholars. His father was Rabbi Jacob son of Rabbi Benjamin of Wilna. Rabbi Jacob was son-in-law of Rabbi Ephraim Cohen. Rabbi of Buda (Budapest), who afterwards settled in Jerusalem, author of the Responsa collection *Sha'ar Ephraim*. (See preface of this work, ed. Sulzbach, 1688). Jacob Emden in his Autobiography, *Megillat Sefer* (p. 3), states that R. Ephraim possessed a pedigree right up to Aaron the High Priest.

R. Aryeh Loeb and his wife Miryam had two sons and three daughters. The sons were R. Saul and Rabbi Hirschel; the daughters were: (1) Dinah, wife of Saul Halevy, Chief Rabbi of the Hague; (2) Sarah, wife of R. Isaac Halevy of Lemberg, Chief Rabbi of Prague; and (3) Naitsche, wife of Moses Zolkiew, Parnas in Lemberg (see *Bet Meschullam*, p. 66). The eldest daughter Dinah was a very good Hebrew scholar. She wrote a letter in excellent Hebrew to her brother R. Hirschel, then Rabbi in Mannheim, on the 3rd of Tammuz, 1770 (printed in Michelsohn's *Zevi Laz.*, p. 158). Rabbi Aryeh Loeb gave approbations to various works. As Rabbi of Reisha he signs one for the work *חולדות יעקב* by Jacob Eulenburg; the approbation bears the date 484 = 1724; to the Pentateuch, printed in Dyhrenfurt, 1727, and finally to Moses Jekutiel Kaufmann's *חקי דרך* (Dyhrenfurt, 1747), which approbation is dated in Reisha, 1728. (See Landshut, *loc. cit.*, p. 71, Dembitzer, I, p. 132 a, and I. Zunz, *עיר העזק*, p. 158.) In Glogau he signs an approbation on the 17th of Sivan, 1734, to the Talmud-edition Frankfort-Berlin.

APPENDIX II

MS. ADLER 2286.

THIS MS. contains 138 quarto pages, many of which are only half filled and a good many are blank. The contents are mostly short notes written down after a talmudical lesson at the Yeshibah. R. Hirschel used this book for several years. On p. 61 b we find, after his signature, the date $\text{זה הקרה ר" לפני יום א' פורים קטן תק"ב לפק}$ = 14th of Adar I, 5502 = 1742. On p. 67 b is the date given $\text{ב"ה היום ט"ז תמוז תק"ב}$ = 17th of Tammuz of the same year. But we find many notes of much later origin. On p. 91 b he writes: 'It is now twenty years since I wrote the foregoing; in the meantime I found a reference to what I said here in the book of Responsa: בחש"ו מהר"א ששן '. Most interesting are the first and last leaves. Fol. 1 has an elaborate title in verses, the contents of which we have already mentioned. Fol. 2 a is a continuation of the same as a secondary title. Fol. 2 b has a 'Nice song for Hanukkah' = (וזמר נאה לחנוכה) , a rather primitive, but considering the youth of the author, remarkably well written verse. Then follows: הרה נאה על $\text{החזק שקורין שחמטביל}$ 'A nice conundrum on chess' what he calls 'the game of Chesstable'. This verse is, in spite of a few linguistic errors and platitudes, quite a remarkable piece of work. Here I will only mention that R. Hirschel compares chess to a battlefield. The King is guarded by his statesmen, the knights and bishops, and has a dutiful wife at his side. The Queen manages all his affairs for him, while the King in his high dignity only moves one step at a time wherever he goes. His soldiers fight for him regardless of their lives. Fearlessly they go forward in one straight line. There is no withdrawal, no avoiding

danger, they fight and die on the battlefield, and only when all his soldiers are dead must the King fight for himself.

The verse is obviously written under the influence of Ibn Ezra's poem, which likewise begins with the words: *אשורר שיר במלחמה* (cp. ed. Kahana, p. 156, and Steinschneider's *Schach bei den Juden*, p. 195 ff., also *Heb. Bibl.*, XII, p. 60).

We have further (p. 3 b) a short verse on Passover, an acrostic on the Alphabet and his name 'Zevi', and also a poem dealing with Israel's covenant with his Heavenly Father (p. 4 a). On p. 5 a is the address only of a letter to Moses Chagis, Haham in Amsterdam. It was probably the beginning of a letter by his father R. Aryeh Loeb, but the letter itself is not copied. P. 5 b has a few riddles, while on p. 7 a we find the beginning of a letter to Naphtali Herz, Rabbi of Pintschow.

Equally interesting is the concluding part of the volume. P. 129 b contains a kabbalistic remedy for a sick woman, and on pp. 130 b and 131 a we have ten more prescriptions for various maladies, all of either homoeopathic or kabbalistic nature. Pp. 135-7 form the index of the book prepared by R. Hirschel, in itself an indication of the writer's scholarly nature.

APPENDIX III

Title page of MS. Adler 2286 and some selections from the same.

Title page: (Folio 1 a).

שמע ישראל

הספר הזה יש בו סך קל"ט דפים לפרט הנה אשר אציג לפניך

קרש למדני את חוקיך

לנורא עלילה

וסדרתי את התפילה

וה"ה אלהי אבותינו חננו ה"ה חננו, ה"ה מלכינו הוא יושענו

את חוקיך הביננו, ובתורתך האר עינינו, כי אתה ה' אלהינו
פנה אל תפלת יעקב ידיך: ותן חכמה כגודל חסדיך לעבדי בנו

ארי" עבדיך
ולמדויה כל רב סודיך
בתורתך אשר נתת
מידך למשה
איש חסידך

אערוך לפניך

ולקמן אציגה

ובסדר הזה אשר אכתוב היא מיושרת
מור ולבונה מקוטרת כל אבקת רוכל סותרת

יה ה' אלהינו הוא מלכינו
אהלנו בתוך קהל ועדה, אשר נתן לנו ננוה חמורה,
שוכן בערבים יוכני להבין ולכתוב מילי דאבות
והוא יחנני בבניה כפלים מן השמים
יחונן מיומים ויביאינו בארץ החיים
לו דומיה תהלה
מכל יופי כלולה
וגם לי נתן מעט נחלה
ברב טוב וחמלה
וכבוד ה' נגלה

יה ה' בלבנו להבין ללמוד את כל דבריך
לפ"ק

Folio 2 a.

מה נעמו לחיבי חיד אוכל יטעם לו טעם
לשבח סוד שיח אמרי נועם חכמים מרפא לנפש
חידושי גמרא תוספת ופוסקים ראשונים ואחרונים ז"ל אשר חידש הנאון
מופת הדור נ"י ע"ה כ"ה לו נאוה תהלה ולו יאתה הגדולה המאה"ג המופלא
ומופלג כבוד מ"ו ארי" ליב נ"י אב"ד דק"ק גלוגא יצ"ו אשר הי' לפני
אב"ד בק"ק לבוב הכירה הוא ניהו מורי ורבי אבי אב בחכמה אשר ברוב
חכמתו ודקות חריפתו ובסברא ישרה בפלפול הנמרה. חידש הרבה דברים
נחמדים ויחקרים. ויהי כי עצמו מלספר כי אין מספר ואדוני אבי הנאון
נר"י משא העם כבד עליו הלכו הלך ופחות וכל תלמיד ותלמיד הולך ופוחת
וכותב לו לו לעצמו. והי' עמו כל הימים. לפלפל בשיבת החכמים.
ואני הנני קטן בשבטי ודל באלפי אמרתי אף אנוכי לקיים מילי דאבות
ולכתבם על הספר. בעט סופר. למען לא יבוא אחר וישתמש בכלי שאינו

שלו למען רוממות שמו ולגדלו. ואבי הנאון נר"י כי ראה זאת אמר יישר בני כתוב לך את השירה הזאת לך לטובתך למען תדע הדרך אשר תלך בה דרך החיים ואין חיים אלא תורה שנאמר עין חיים היא למחזיקים בה ואשר לא תדע בני שאלני כמ"ש שאל אביך ויגדך ואנוכי כשמעתי זאת נתחזקתי ונתאמצתי בלבי לעשות כאשר אמרתי וכה עשיתי. כאשר עיניך יראו מישרים.

וחלקתיהו לחמשה חלקים האחד חלק השירים וחלק החדה וחלק הפשט, והפשט יפרד לשני חלקים חלק האב וחלק הבן וחלק המכתב (?) ה"ק צבי הירש בהנאון מ" ארי" ליב.

Fol. 2 b.

חדה נאה על הצחוק שקורין שאך טאביל

הק" צבי הירש בהנאון

אשורר שיר ומלחמה: מיוסד ע"פ בינה וחכמה. שני מחנות. זה לנגד זה נצבים להרוג באויבים. וכל מחנה ומחנה נתחלק לשני מחנות פן האחד יבוא אל המחנה האחת והכהו ותהיינה מטה מטה. והי" המחנה הנשאר לפליטה. והן הנה קבועים עלי טורים שמונה. מכל צד ופנה. ובין שני המלכים עם המחנות הגדולות קבוע לוח ובו ל"ב שבילים. אשר בהם ירוצון אופניהם. ויעריכו מלחמותיהם. הלא המה המחנות ידמו כבבשים ומבצרים. בחורים אדירים. כולם גבורים. שני גברים. רוכבי אתונות צהורים. ושני זקנים. קרובים למלכם ונבונים. ומצדי השורה הראשונה. שני שרים עומדים להנה והמלך אף הוא עם אשתו יגשו מלחמה אל גבעת הרמה. ולפני המלך וישריו הנכבדים. שמונה עבדים. מול המלחמה החזקה עומדים. והמלכה העומדת לצד המלך. בעבורו מישוטטת בכל פלך. והאשה המהוללה. עטרת בעלה. היא תלך ע"פ כל הישדה. לשמור ידידה. והזקנים ילכו עומתה לשמור הדרכים השונות. והרוכב ילך עמהם עקלקלות. ושלוש לו גבולות. שנים בישר נתמים. ואחד עקום כמשפט הזקנים וחכמים והוא במרוצה. יצא חוצה ואיש לא יעכבנו. כי בחזקה יהרפנו, ועל ראשי עם יפסיע, עד אל מחוץ חפצו יגיע, והשרים שרי הצבא, הולכים במוג השוה, ברב חבה ואהבה ופעמים יכניסו מלכיהם אל צדיהם, והמה יבואו אל מקומו למען לא יבואו שונאיו עלימו ופותחים לו פתח חרוצה, וחומה פרוצה, למען יצא חוצה.

Folio 3 a.

ובאם שהמלך כבר הלך, כערכו אשר למחלכו, לא ישנה ממנהגו לילך
 ע"פ ארבע טורים, כשאר הגברים, כי המלך אף במלחמה, כל כבודו בית
 המלך פנימה, והוא לכל צד במעלה אחת, ילך בשובה ונחת, וכל אלו המלך
 והשרים פניהם לארבעתן יפנו, וע"פ המצחק יסעו ויחננו, וכפי הילוכם
 ונתיבתם כמו כן הכאתם, מלבד הרוגלים העומדים בתחלה, לנוכח המסילה,
 המה הולכים דרך סלולה וע"פ שדה אחת מהלכם, וגם אל הרוכב ידמו
 בעקומתם יכו ולא ירחמו ובלכתם לא יסבו פניהם, ולא יחזרו לאחוריהם,
 ולא יפנו אל צריהם, כי אם איש אל עבר פניו, לשמור את אדוניו, והרוגלים
 אשר לפני חצר מלכם, שלשה להם הליכות והרוגלים העומדים בצד המחנה
 גם המה בתחלת המלחמה, יפסיעו כגבורים, ע"פ שלשה טורים וכולם אשר
 ע"פ שלשה טורים ירחקו מנגבולם וינידו, בשורה השלישית יעמדו ואם איש
 יבוא על המלך להפילו ימותון בעדו כל חילו, ובמות האחת תמות גם
 השנית ובלי הצלה ופדייה, וע"פ בני האדם יחד יצמדו ועמדו על מעמדם,
 ועתה אבאר גודל פאר, מצבם ומעמדם, אחד אחד לפי כבודם, המלך עלי
 טור רביעי מקומו, באמצע עמו, ולא יעמוד מן הצד, פן ברשת נלכד
 ונוצד, ואצלו שגל נצבה, מכובדת על בעלה והשובה, ואצל כל אחד עומד
 זקן להורותם הדרך לפי הערך, לכל אחד כחוקו אם גבה ואם נך בערכו,
 ומצד כל זקן עומד, רוכב מלומד מלחמה, להבין (להכות?) במחנה, ושר
 הצבא עומד בצדו, את המעשה אשר יעשה ללמדו, והי" בהכותו איבו, יריב
 ריבו, כי אהבו ושמונה שלוחים לפניהם ערוכים, אותם ישלחון תחלה, לחפור
 את המחנה כולה, וכל אחד לפי שכלו, ישלח שלוחו וישיב לו, והם מלומדים
 את המעשה אשר יעשון, בפנעם בדרך אסון והיה אך יצוא יצא, מן הקצה אל
 הקצה, בלי דופי ושמצה, נעשה אדון לעצמו, ושר בקרב עמו כמות אשר עמד
 לפניו במקומו, ואם זה הוכה והלך יגיע אל בית מושב המלך, יהפך אל
 האשה תחת אישה, כי לא יתכן להיות שני מלכים בכתר אחד מישתמשים,
 אבל יתכן למלך אחד שתי נשים או כלוקחה אשתו, את זאת לאשה לו
 ימירנה, תחת אשתו הראשונה, ונתן כתר מלכות בראשה, כדת האשה שהיא
 עטרת בעלה לשם ולתהלה.

זמר נאה לפסח.

תני שבחים והילולים אל אל אלים, פר ה וחילו טבע בים מצולים ועמו
 הדריך ביבשה על פרעה אויבי עשר מכות הביא ע"י איש מבית לוי, הוא
 רועה נאמן משה.

Folio 3 b.

הוא הוציאנו ממצרים. והדריכנו בתוך המים והוריד לנו תורה מן השמים,
 וחילקו לחלקים חמשה מפי הגבורה לקח התורה. ערובה בכול ושמורה,
 תורה היא וגם פירושה: פסח הוא יום נאולה בו יבוא צמח לעם סגולה,
 ויוציאנן מן הגולה ואז נשיר שיר חדשה.

TRANSLATION.

Title-page (1 a).

Hear, O Israel!

This book contains 139 leaves on which I will arrange before you, what Thou, O Holy One, wilt teach me of Thy statutes. I have offered my prayer to the Most High God, the God of our Fathers; be gracious unto us, God our King He will help us. Make us understand Thy statutes and enlighten our eyes in Thy Law. O Almighty God, turn to the prayers of Thy beloved Jacob, Thy only one, and give wisdom in Thy great mercy to Zevi son of Aryeh Thy servant and teach him all Thy numberless secrets in the Torah which Thou gavest with Thy hand to Moses Thy saintly (servant). In the following I will arrange before you, and as I shall write it will be made plain, that 'which is perfumed with myrrh and incense and all the powders of the merchant' (Cant. 3. 6). God is our King, to Him is due praise, I will praise Him in assemblies and congregations, for He gave us, as cherished treasure, the perfection of beauty (the Torah). The Dweller of the Clouds may grant me to understand and to be able to write down the words of the Fathers (of my Father). He gave me also a small portion, and He may grant me understanding with a double measure as a gift from Heaven, in His great Goodness and Mercy may He bring us into the land of Life, and may God's Glory be revealed. 5537 a.M.

Folio 2 a (1 b is *blank*).

Behold how pleasant are to my palate the words of the wise, which are a cure for the soul.

These are novellae to the Talmud, Tosaphot and commentators Rishonim and Aharonim (of olden and late times) by the Gaon the great Rabbi, &c., R. Aryeh Loeb. Head of the Congregation of Glogau, who formerly was Rabbi in Lwow the Imperial Residence (Capital), he is my Master and teacher, my father, who in his great wisdom and learning has produced many new interpretations and explanations of the Talmud. When these novellae became more and more numerous, while the quality of the scholars and pupils of my father became more and more inferior, and every one of them wrote down the products of my father's mind, to use them in later life in talmudical disputes as his own achievements, so I, the smallest and humblest of my father's pupils, have made up my mind to write down what I heard from him, so as to preserve my father's words, who is too busy with communal affairs. When my father saw this (book) he spoke to me: You do right, my son, write down everything so that you may learn the way of life, which is the way of the Torah, of which it is said: 'She is a tree of life for those who grasp it', and what you do not know, ask me, as it is said: 'Ask thy father and he will show thee, thine elders and they will tell thee' (Deut. 32. 7). These words I have taken to heart and have done accordingly, as your eyes will see.

I have divided this book into five parts, the one is the part of songs, then the part of the riddles, the part of the Peshat, while the part of the Peshat is again divided into the part of the father and of the son and of the writing.

Zevi Hirsch b. Aryeh Loeb.

Folio 2 b contains first : A nice song for Hanukkah. Then follows :

A nice conundrum on the game called Chess (Shachtable).

I will sing a song of war, founded on wisdom and understanding. Two armies are arranged one opposite the other, to kill their enemies. Each army is again divided into two parts, in order that if the one army comes and beats the first part, bringing it right down, the other part can still escape. They are arranged in eight rows each on one side. Between the two Kings with their great armies is a field with thirty-two different ways in which paths run, and there they arrange their battles. The camps are like trenches and forts. Young fierce men, all heroes. Two warriors riding on white asses, and two elders (bishops) dear to their King and wise, and at the sides of the first row two princes are standing, and the King himself with his Queen take part in the battle on the high hilltop. In front of the King and his honoured princes are eight servants (pawns); they face the first strong onslaught, and the Queen who stands at the side of the King, moves about for him everywhere. This praiseworthy wife, the ornament of her husband, walks about the whole battlefield to guard her beloved; the elders proceed first to guard the various paths and the knight goes with them on roundabout ways. He has three paces, two straight in front of him and one sideways like the elders, the wise men. He (the knight) hurriedly goes forth, nobody can stop him as he would push him away in his strength. He moves in front of the people until he reaches the desired position, and the princes, the generals of the army, proceed in an even step in unity and friendship (with

one another) ; sometimes they take the King to their side and take his former place to hinder the enemy from reaching him. They open up for him a way of escape, but when the King has once stepped out, he does not change any more from his usual manner to move to either of the four sides, like the ordinary soldiers, as the King, even in war-time, keeps his dignity, and he takes only one step to whatever side he proceeds, slowly and evenly. All these, the King and his officers, can turn to every side of the four, according to the player's wish they move and rest, and like their coming and going so are their attacks, except for the infantry, who stand in front facing the battlefield, for they go only in one straight line and only move one field. They are, however, like the knight in their attack, for they hit out sideways and give no quarter. When they move, however, they do not turn and cannot go backwards, they cannot turn to their enemies but have to meet them face to face to guard their master. This infantry who stand before the entourage of the King have accordingly three ways of moving forward, and also those of them who stand at the side, can, at the beginning of the battle, step out like giants (heroes) three rows forward, and all those who have stepped forward these three rows have to stop there. If any one attacks the King his whole army has to die for him, and so also in the opposing party, and all have according to the will of mankind (the player) to stand on their assigned places.

Now I will explain to you their order of position, each one according to his status. The King has his place in the fourth row in the middle of his people. He must not stand at the side, so that he may not be caught. Next to him his helpmate stands, the honoured one by her

consort's side, and next either of them stands an Elder to show them the way as is meet, to every one according to the rules whether high or low is his position. At the side of each Elder stands a proved rider to keep order in the camp, and a General stands next to him to instruct him what to do. When he fights the enemy he stands by him, in true affection (for the brother-in-arms). The eight messengers are marched up in front of all these, they are sent first of all to get information about the enemy's position, and each one (of the officers) sends his messenger or keeps him back and they are all instructed what to do, if misfortune befalls them on their way. But if he is able to get from one end of the battlefield to the other without coming to harm, he becomes his own master, and a prince of his people like the one before whom he stood in his old place. If that one (the officer) is slain and is no more, he takes his place or even comes back to the court of his King and becomes a woman (Queen), but not a King as it is impossible for two Kings to have one and the same crown, but one King may have two wives. If his first wife is gone and taken, he takes this one in her place, puts the royal crown on her head as is the right of the wife, the crown of her husband, she is his ornament and honour.

A SONG FOR PASSOVER.

Give praise and thanks to God the Mighty, Pharaoh He threw into the deep sea, but His people he led through as if on dry land. He sent ten plagues against Pharaoh my enemy, by the hand of the man from the tribe of Levi. It is Moses who led us out of Egypt,

Folio 3 b.

He let us walk on dry land in the midst of the sea, brought us down the Torah from Heaven, which he received from the lips of God, divided it into five parts; all well arranged and observed is the Torah and her explanation.

Pesaḥ is the day of relief, on that day will come help to the chosen people, He will lead us out of our exile, then we shall sing a new song.

(Here follows a verse of which each line begins with a letter of the Alphabet.)

APPENDIX IV

WILL OF R. SAUL B. ZEVI HIRSCH.⁵⁹

COPY of the will of Rabbi Saul son of Rabbi Zevi Hirsch, Chief Rabbi of Berlin, which I copied word for word from his own handwriting, found on him after his death, which occurred on Sunday, 23rd of Heshwan, 5555.

‘The lot of man is unknown to himself, as to where and when (he would die), it is therefore the duty of everybody who goes on a journey to make a will as long as he is alive (and decide) what he wishes should be done to him and to all that is his when God shall have gathered him from under Him. The more so it is the duty of a man travelling from land to land, from town to town, especially if he is a sickly man. I am now on my journey here in Halle, and intend to travel to distant lands, and perchance I shall not be able to speak to any one about myself; then any one who will find me dead, he will find my will in the pocket of my coat, and it shall be to him as if it were the

⁵⁹ From the Hebrew in *Orient. Litbl.*, 1844, pp. 712-13.

words of my lips, and if he be a righteous man, who is willing to do a true kindness (חסד של אמת), may he fulfil my words, as follows :

‘ Everything that is found upon me, be it little or much, may be sent to my father, the Rabbi of Berlin, after he has taken from it the purchase-money for a burial place for me. All the writings, however, which shall be found in my trunk or in any other receptacle, it shall be forbidden to anybody to take even one leaf and to read it. Everything shall be left in paper, be sealed up and sent to my above-named father or to my children or to trustworthy men in Berlin, and they shall give them to those who are worthy of them (to whom they concern).

‘ The following I ask for myself: No garment which I have upon me shall be taken away, just as they find me, they shall bury me in some forest, or in any place they find, only it shall be far away from the graves of other people. And I ask everybody whose heart has been touched by the fear of God, not to talk behind my coffin on account of my having asked for this, for he cannot know the reason for this stipulation ; however, even those who speak blamingly about me, shall be forgiven—only if they do as I ask.

‘ Any one who will act, in any of the points written here, against my will, it will be counted as a great sin to him (רם יחשב) and God will not forgive him ; as anybody who has knowledge of the Talmud knows that only one who says, “do not bury me at all” should not be obeyed but a stipulation like this one (which I have made) may be made in one’s Will.

‘ And God, to whom are known all the desires of human beings, He knows my intentions, and will yet help me to

good days and a life in which I may serve Him in pleasure (when I shall be able to serve him amidst joy), when I shall be able to devote myself to Torah and wisdom, which give joy to the embittered heart and soul, and be able to live in quietness and safety without being tied to a seat of vanity (M. Joseph's note: "referring to the office of Rabbi, which he hated, as is well known to everybody"). These are the words of one with an embittered soul whom God has given to drink of the cup of misery enough and more and still has not given up in his heart to pray to God and to hope.

SAUL.

(אני הקטן שאול).

The following is the inscription of R. Saul's tombstone to which Mr. Israel Solomons called my attention. The stone is standing near the wall facing the entrance at the Alderney Road Cemetery in Mile End, London.

פ נ

הרב הגדול המפורסם (הנפלא) . . .

(עוקר הרים?) וקנה בושם תנאי

כי טוב אשר יאמר עד היום

הוא פ"ה מזה בן מזה מהו"ר

שאול זצ"ל בן מורינו ורבינו

נשיא אלקים בתוכנו (פ"ה?)

מהו"ר צבי הירש נר"ו . . .

אב"ד ור"מ דק"ק ברלין יע"א

. . . . אור (אבי)

מה"ר שלמה אב"ד דקהלתינו

. . . . את אשרי

צדיק יבטח בה" ערבה . . .

נאבד (נזיר?) היהודים ביום (כנ')

חשון תקנ"ה לפ"ק

תנצבה

(To be continued.)

NOTE ON 'SOLOMON B. JUDAH AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES'

UNDER the above heading Dr. A. Marmorstein printed in this REVIEW (vol. VIII, 1-29) an article which included new material from the Genizah. The history of the Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs is not yet written. This deficiency will only be made up when the remarkable Genizah finds completely see the light of publication. Judging from the past, we shall have to wait for many a year yet till this will be an accomplished fact. Every contribution, therefore, that augments our knowledge of this obscure period of Jewish history is to be gratefully accepted. But to be of scientific value, it must, of course, adequately present the new material. Only a few have the opportunity of re-examining the originals from which this material is taken. When manuscripts are improperly used, the result is a tangle of false conceptions to unravel which is indeed an uncongenial as well as thankless task.

Working on a contribution to the history of this period, based chiefly on hitherto unpublished Genizah material, for the last three years, I had the occasion to study the fragments Dr. Marmorstein used in addition to a good many more. With a single-minded purpose of serving scientific truth, I am constrained, though with great reluctance, to make the following remarks on his paper.

1. Before dealing with Solomon b. Judah proper, Dr. Marmorstein discusses the preceding Geonim of the Palestinian school (pp. 3 ff.). The Memorial List (MS. Adler 2592), on which he bases his genealogy of the Geonim belonging to Ben-Meir's family, cannot be fully considered here. It is enough to say, that there exist three other lists about this family (Bodl. 2874²³ and 2443, discussed by Poznański, *REJ.*, LXVI, 60 ff.; the third

in the very same MS. Adler 2592) which Dr. Marmorstein entirely overlooked. As they are all contradictory, one list cannot be chosen at random without adducing other data for its veracity. But a signature in T.-S., 13 J. 16¹⁶, Moses הכופר b. Isaac החבר b. Solomon החבר b. Meir Gaon, is the cause of a long argument whether this Solomon החבר is the famous Ben-Meir, the opponent of Sa'adya (pp. 4 ff.). The obvious, and at the same time weighty, objection (already brought forward by Poznański) that Ben-Meir, styled ראש ישיבה even by his adversaries, would not be mentioned here simply as a *Haber*, i. e. one that held a diploma from the academy, does not deter Dr. Marmorstein from deciding that Solomon is *the* Ben-Meir (p. 6).

But why this superfluous arguing about a mere signature? Let us see what the fragment contains besides the signature, to whom it is addressed, if it be a letter, and who else is mentioned therein. Now it is an epistle written by Moses הכופר to a highly influential elder, Abū Sa'ad b. Sahl, in request of support. The writer mentions that he is in a hurry to visit his grandfather, who is ill. Accordingly Solomon החבר was then still alive. But who is this Abū Sa'ad? From about 1025 to 1048 we find him having intimate connexions with the Fāṭimid court at Cairo. The Caliph az-Zāhir bought from him a beautiful Sūdānī slave, who became the mother of the next Caliph al-Mustanṣir (1036-1094). The Queen-mother (Walida) wielded great power in the court, especially since 1036, when she acted as regent for her seven-year-old son. Her former Jewish master, Abū Sa'ad, had since then become a *persona grata* till he was assassinated in 1048 (see Wüstenfeld, 'Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen' in *Abhandlungen der Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. XXVII, Abteilung iii. 1 ff.). The Genizah has preserved several fragments bearing on this Abū Sa'ad and his brother Abū Naṣr, the sons of Sahl al-Tustari (modern Shuster in Persia), which will be published by me elsewhere.

Now is it at all likely that the Ben-Meir of 921 was still alive in Abū Sa'ad's time? The answer is, of course, in the negative. Several other data prove conclusively that Ben-Meir was succeeded

by a son, called Meir, who is the father of the above Solomon החבר. I can only give here the result of my investigations (to be printed elsewhere) as to the Gaonic family of Ben-Meir, viz. Moses, Meir I, Judah=Ben-Meir (921), Meir II, Abraham, Aaron, Josiah (1015).

But, writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 8), 'We have further a fragment which enables us to fix the chronology of these Geonim. A letter, fragm. Adler, mentions severe persecutions in Sicily. The letter is written by אלהי bar Hakim to Hananiah "Ab bet din" ben ראש הישיבה . . . The father's name is missing. Hananiah is the father of Sherira, who became Gaon in the year 938/9. We assume, therefore, that Moses and his son Aaron I lived before 939.' What this has to do with the Palestinian Geonim the reader is at a loss to find out. But, forsooth, there occurs in the fragment (without Dr. Marmorstein telling us) the name of ראש הישיבה [ה רבנא] ומרנא יאשיה. This led Dr. Marmorstein at once to assume that Hananiah was Sherira's father, and that 'the head of the school' is his supposed Gaon Josiah I. Again the question arises, What has the scholar of Pumbedita to do with the Palestinian Gaon?

Now let us state the facts. The address (verso) reads as follows :

מנ[י א]בו אלחי בר חכי[ם] נז
 ואהוב
 [רב ש]ל לומות לאין קצ[ה] ומדה
 [הכ]הן ראש הישיבה
 זלל

Accordingly Hananiah was a Kohen, and his identity with Sherira's father is out of the question. The contents of the letter (which will be printed elsewhere) are thus. Josiah, 'the head of the school', wrote to Sicily requesting donations for his school. They were duly promised on a Sabbath, when the Gaon's letter was read before the congregation in the synagogue. But before the contributions could be collected such a heavy impost was made by the government that many people were ruined. The elders of the community do not like to reply to the Gaon without enclosing some money. Abū'l-Hayy, probably the local scholar,

therefore writes to Ḥananiah, *the Ab of the (Palestinian) academy*, informing him of what happened, and promising to do his best for the school during the ensuing festivals. The letter is written on Rosh Ḥodesh Elul. This Ḥananiah Hakkohen was Ab under Joshiah, Gaon of Palestine in 1015, as will be shown elsewhere. Let me also add, that there is no justification whatever for Dr. Marmorstein's suggestion (pp. 13 and 15) that there were two academies in the Holy Land, one in Ramlah and the other in Jerusalem. Only the Gaon sometimes resided, instead of in the latter city, in the neighbouring Ramlah, the capital of the province of Philistia (Filastin) and the seat of the governor. This was the case with Ben-Meir, with Joshiah, and, on several occasions, with Solomon b. Judah.

2. We come at last to this Gaon. Writes Dr. Marmorstein: 'In a fragment Adler there is a Seliḥah, beginning הארין נבלה הארין, written in the year 1362 (= 1051), *when he was still alive* (p. 14), and the years of his Gaonate were from 1025 till *his death about* 1052/3 (p. 16).¹ Now this Seliḥah (it is a loose leaf in MS. Adler 2804) has really the following beginning: (1) למא תופ[י] רבינו שלמה: (2) עמל אפ[ר]ים הרה אלסליחה (3) פי אלננף אייר סנה אישטב גאון (4). *'When our master Solomon Gaon died, Ephraim composed this Seliḥah in the middle of Iyyar 1362 Sel.'* (= 1051 C.E.). The author of this elegy is most likely Ephraim b. Shemarya of Fustāt. Further comments are needless.

3. 'Solomon prevented the re-establishment of the dual authority of the Palestinian Gaonate' (pp. 14-15). This Dr. Marmorstein infers from a few lines cited from MS. Adler 2804. This fragment (it is fol. 3) deals with a rival of Ephraim b. Shemarya in Fustāt, and has nothing to do with a supposed opponent of the Gaon. The letter will be fully printed elsewhere. The following corrected readings of the lines cited by Dr. Marmorstein are given here. For כל הימנו read כל הימנו; for באספו אליו read באספו אליו; for אין זה הדרך read אין זה הדרך; for ישמבקש ישם ישמים ואם למחלוקת אין read ישמבקש ישם ישמים ואם למחלוקת אין.

¹ The italics are mine.

Dr. Marmorstein actually left us in the middle of a sentence. (On the same page, for השולחני read השורחני, the banker.)

4. Writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 16), 'We hear it very soon, already in Solomon's time, that people said: The former leaders always stood against the blood of their colleagues (T.-S., 13 J. 9² *vide* now *RÉJ.*, LXVIII, p. 45).' I have only to refer to my remarks in this REVIEW (vol. VII. 481), whence it is clear that Solomon b. Judah made these remarks *himself* about the spiritual leaders (ראשים)² in Fustât, speaking also disparagingly of Elḥanan (b. Shemarya). Dr. Marmorstein, who published this important letter in *RÉJ.*, entirely failed to understand its drift. The whole fragment will be reprinted by me, as it has been carelessly edited. Compare the two versions in *RÉJ.*, *l. c.*, p. 46, ll. 18-24, and in this REVIEW, p. 17, note 17. As for the latter, for יושב בעיר הקודש read אשב בעיר קודש אינו אים [= אלהינו אלהים] יכוננה אלינו אלים יכוננה, באשר העטה אינו [= אלהינו] באשר [נעשה?] אלינו. The meaning is, What can be done, the name is called (i. e. I bear the title Gaon), and it is impossible to reject what our God adorned (me) with.³ These bitter words of the Gaon were due to the great pain the opponents of Ephraim b. Shemarya in Fustât caused him by their letters. They accused him of siding with Ephraim, though unworthy, because of his presents; and they even threatened to denounce Solomon to the government. The corresponding lines read in the MS. (but cp. the version in *RÉJ.*, *l. c.*, 45, ll. 6-9!) המלכות יגוננה, (read אל) כי רצו רוב העם לקבול עלי על (אל) כי הרשיתי איש לא ראוי וישמיוץ ברברים רעים המק [המקום] יגבה הדין מכל מוציא שם רע וישב עליו ברין אכזריות ויאמרו כי למען [מתנ] ותידך ומשאותיך יבואוך אנרותינו להעזר בם עליהם. The whole epistle deals with a communal dispute in Fustât. And yet Dr. Marmorstein exclaims (p. 17), '*Is it not undeniably established*⁴ that the enemies wanted another man in Solomon's place, and had one ready?'

Trying to find opposition against Solomon b. Judah's Gaonate

² Both Elḥanan the elder and his son Shemarya are called הראש, see *l. c.*, 479; VIII, 344.

³ Obviously alluding to Job 40. 10. Read therefore perhaps העדה.

⁴ The italics are mine.

where there is none, Dr. Marmorstein discovers (in this REVIEW, vol. VI, 161-2) a poem in MS. Adler 3363. 7, from which he copies two lines, and adduces that 'the dignity of Solomon b. Judah was fiercely attacked'. Now this fragment (it really covers ff. 8 a b and 9 a) is a copy of the well-known poem of Gabirol (another Solomon b. Judah!) in honour of his patron Yequti'el, already printed in Duke's *שירי שלמה*, no. 8 (p. 13), in Sachs' *שש"ש*, 16-36, and in *Brody's edition*, Heft I, no. 3. Needless to say that in the line *ואם תשאל מי הוא זה וכן מי שלמה בן יהודה*, Gabirol speaks of himself!

5. On pp. 18-19 Dr. Marmorstein makes statements about the adversaries of Ephraim b. Shemarya, which he tries to support by quotations from fragments torn from their contexts and entirely misconstrued. In the first instance, what do the lines of T-S., 13 J. 15¹ (p. 18, note 22) mean? Solomon writes to Ephraim that prior to this letter he sent him a few lines (*שורות*) after the festivals in reply to his epistles. Therein Ephraim reported the doings of his opponent. That person held the diploma of Haber (*חבר*), given by the Jerusalem school, but not satisfied with it, he exchanged it for the title Alluf of the Babylonian academy. He accordingly 'despised the waters of Shiloah to drink the waters of the Euphrates'. Solomon, naturally, maintains that this man only lost thereby, since the Palestinian degree is higher. The academy of the Holy Land is the 'alma mater' (*אם*), whereas the seat of learning in Babylon is a step-mother (*אשת אב*). Several other fragments (to be printed elsewhere) deal with this scholar in Fustāṭ who changed his allegiance to the former school for the latter. The title Alluf, it can be stated with certainty, was never bestowed by the academy of Palestine, and has nothing to do with 'the history of the organization of the Palestinian Geonim' (p. 18). In note 22 for *לִיד* [י?] read *לִיד*, for *מוצאה* read *מוצאה*, for *לבלתי מהר* read *לבלתי מוש מהם*.

But a typical example is the following. Writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 19), 'Furthermore, we see that he (i.e. Solomon b. Judah) asked a man, *perhaps the lay head of the community in the Diaspora*

or in Palestine, Saadya b. Israel, during his stay in Egypt,⁵ to support Ephraim with the royal authorities'. As evidence we have (note 23) the second half of T.-S., 13 J. 17¹⁷. The first half Dr. Marmorstein did not copy. But it is just there that the name Sa'adya b. Israel occurs. The correct text of the whole fragment deserves to be given here.

[T.-S., 13 J. 17¹⁷, paper, square writing, size 24.4 × 17.8 cm.]

Recto.

.
 את אהובנו וגדולנו ונש[י]אנו כב[וד]
 הנשיא לצאת לאר[ץ] והודעתי כי לבי טוב עד למאוד
 להשלים אליו היות לפני[י] מוציא ומביא את עם יי כי אין לפני[ינו]
 בארץ ישראל ראוי [למ]עלה הזאת וכב[וד] י[ת]קן הדבר בינותינו
 5 בכתבים אל ה[חבר] שצ' וביום הזה [דיברנו עם] זקנינו
 כבוד קדושת מ[ר]נא ו[ר]בנא סעדיהו הזקן הנכבד היק[ר]
 העושה טובות וחסדים העשוי⁶ נחת רוח בירושלים
 אשר בית[ו] פתוח [ל]רוחה לכל בא אליו בן מר' רב' ישראל
 רוח יי תניחנו לכתוב אל הדרת שרינו וסלדינו⁷ זקן בית
 10 ישראל ותפארת ב[י]ת ישראל להודיעם אהבתי לנשיא [שצ']
 ותאותי לשיבתו וכי הוא ראוי לכל מעלה וכי העת נדחק
 וימי המועדים קרבו ואני רוצה להיות [הוא אצלינו לפני] ראש
 שנה ורצוני שיצא עמו כתב מן המלכות יגוננה אל לחז[ק]
 את ידו ממחרצרי הריב וכל זעם אל מקומו יבא בשלום
 15 וכל רצוני שיצא ביד רמה וקרן זקופה לשבר מתלעות עין
 כי לבי כאב עמי למאד ואין יכולת לכתוב כל מה שבלבי
 ונ[שי]אנו ירום יקרו יחוו לפניו כל הדברים ועיני יד דרך
 מצפה⁸ לביאת כתב ביציאתו ממצרים והוא יעש בחסדו צור
 ישמע [פ]לתי בערו ובער האח האדון תפארת בית ישראל[אל]
 20 וחמודיהם וכל המשפחה להמציאם חן ושכל טוב בעיני
 אלהים ואדם ושלום ושלום כבודו וחמוד[ו] יגדל[ו] מא[ד].
 שלמה הנדכה ברבי יהודה נז

⁵ The italics are mine.

⁶ Read העושה.

⁷ Read וסלדינו, our leader; for this word see *JQR.*, N. S., 1X, p. 158, note 141.

⁸ Cp. 1 Sam. 4. 3.

We learn from this letter several details of interest. In the first instance we see that Daniel b. 'Azarya was not the first Nasi in the Holy Land, but that already in Solomon's time a descendant of David settled there. (This Nasi is indeed mentioned in some other epistles of the Gaon.) Unfortunately his name is not preserved in our fragment, of which the beginning is missing. Solomon writes that he is very pleased that the Nasi intends leaving Egypt for Palestine, where he will be the leader of the people. The Gaon has already written to the Ḥaber (probably Ephraim b. Shemarya) setting forth how the division of authority (in Jerusalem) was to be arranged so that no friction arise between himself and the newcomer. (Our fragment is not written to Ephraim but to some other person in Fustāt, very likely Sahlān b. Abraham, because in l. 21 greetings are sent to the correspondent and his son. In the numerous letters to Ephraim there is never mentioned a son of his, only a son-in-law, Joseph by name.) The Gaon continues: I have spoken to-day (in Jerusalem) to the important elder, Sa'adya b. Israel, to write to 'our lord and leader, the elder and the glory of the house of Israel', informing him of my love for the Nasi, and my desire for his settling here. He deserves all honour. The time is pressing because the festivals are at hand, and I want him to be with us (in Jerusalem) before New Year. Let him obtain letters patent from the (central) government to be able to act here with authority, and put an end to the rampant strife of which the Gaon had enough. 'Our Nasi will tell him (i.e. this great dignitary) all the details.' (It seems that the Nasi had already visited the Holy City, and was well acquainted with the local state of affairs.) I am anxiously expecting a letter reporting his (the Nasi's) departure from Egypt. 'He (this dignitary) will do it in his kindness' (i.e. obtain from the government in Cairo (Fustāt) a decree of authority for the Nasi). May God hear my prayers for him, for (his) brother, 'the glory of the house of Israel', and their noble family. Let me state that these two brothers are the above-mentioned Abū Sa'ad and Abū Naṣr, who were the very people to obtain from the Caliph all the political power

required by the Nasi for his new régime in Jerusalem. This is the plain and obvious meaning of our fragment. What ground, then, had Dr. Marmorstein for his statement quoted above?

6. Dr. Marmorstein has found in several Genizah fragments (pp. 20 ff.) references to the formidable revolution in Palestine and Syria (1024-29) against the Caliph az-Zāhir. It should be stated at once that one leader of the rebels, Ḥasan, was not of the Banū Gariyah, as Dr. Marmorstein prints, but of the Banū Jarrah (جراح, see Becker, *Beiträge z. Gesch. Ägyptens unter d. Islam*, I, pp. 44 ff.). Furthermore, the Resh Kalla Sahlān b. Abraham resided not in Ḳairowan but in Fuṣṭāṭ, as is clear from numerous fragments (see also my remarks in *JQR.*, N. S., IX, p. 161; the residence of Sahlān's father, Abraham, in Fuṣṭāṭ is also evident from the Arabic address, *JQR.*, XIX, 726, no. 11). But Dr. Marmorstein has discovered in T.-S., 13 J. 13²⁸ that Jews in Damascus were imprisoned for taking part in the rebellion. Accordingly Solomon b. Judah (to wit, in Jerusalem) writes to Suhlān b. Abraham (in Ḳairowan (!), according to Dr. Marmorstein) to inspire 'the Resh Kalla to take steps with the authorities on behalf of the Jewish prisoners in Damascus' (pp. 20-21). What a play with geography! To release prisoners in Damascus naturally the central Fāṭimid government in Cairo had to be approached. What help could the Gaon in Jerusalem hope to obtain for them from the intervention with the authorities (in Ḳairowan!) by the local Resh Kalla? But the letter was addressed to Fuṣṭāṭ, and has nothing to do with the rebellion.

Before briefly indicating its drift, I give the following corrected readings. The fragment is of paper, square writing, size 25.5 × 17.4 cm., badly preserved, torn at the bottom of the left-hand side. Its beginning is intact. Hence the dots by Dr. Marmorstein (note 30, before l. 1) should be deleted. In l. 2 for אל ידידי read וכן נשלחו . . . והיינו (l. 3) for והחוקתי read ונחוקנו (l. 6) for ונתחוק read ונתחוק, (l. 9) for read [צי]רים והיינו [נו] (l. 10) for אלקואו read אלקואו, כי [נ]של[ח] להם כי ש[לח] אליהם (l. 11) omit the second ארץ, for בוולת read בוולת[ו] (l. 12) for הפיתוק מפי read מפי [הוא] הפיתוק, for ונשב לפי

דבר[ם] read דברינו for (l. 13), ונשיב לפי מה [שנראה] read מה . . . (l. 14), אוי נא כי יסף יי' יגזן עוד [על] יגזני וג' read אוי נא לי וכו' for ועודנו read א. א. ר. only for אבך [ו]נק[וה] read נקוה for הזקן read מרדב read מר. ורב for (l. 15), [והיינ]ו מק[וים] read מקוים ומר. רב, אבו אלפכאר read אבולפוכאר for (l. 16), [הב]הן read כאשר, הנקוב אבו אלפצל read דהנקוב אבולפצל, ומ[ן] רב read וה[ו]ליכני . . . only (עצת ?) for (l. 17), באשר read [אל השוק] supply (החוצה) for (l. 18), הצדיק [ק.רא] read אוכל read אוכל, כוח read כוחי for ותולה לפניך. . . for (l. 20), שניהם read עון[מד] for, הצ[דיק] נתי[רא] read החטאים [והנה] באות read החוטאים . . . באו for, [גד]ולה לפ[ני יי'] read וואף read אף כתוב, כמ[צפ]ים read ל. . . סים for ולמכור after (l. 22), בה[ק]הלה read (בהר) הוה, וגם read ואם for (l. 23), באין איש רוא[ה] read באין אדם רואה, [בשר] supply לא ימנו אות . . . נו . . . ים read לא ימס אותם (?) וכי, ולדה read הדא for (l. 25), שאלתם לא [י]בואו read שירותם (?) לא יבוא for (l. 26), יכת[בנ] כתבים . . . וכאלה רבות ש . . . ר read יכתבו כתבים . . . for (l. 27), בד[ברים] ה[אלה] ההיתה צור[ך]. . . read בדבר . . . for (l. 29), וכב[ר] נ[תתי] read וכבר שמתו for (l. 28), השמיעו read השמעתי אל the first (l. 30), יעמוד read יעמוד, ולהתחזק read להתחזק שללה ולא הש (?) for (l. 31), לכנוס read לכנס, אַל is vocalized ביי' [א]לה[ינ]ו אנו . . . read ואנו for (l. 32), שלילה ולא ה[יתה] read צדק ושלום מ. . . וכל for (l. 33), several letters are missing, read ובעונתי, קהלך read קהליך, ושלום מסר[פ]ך⁹ וכל read אשאל לכתוב מישמ[י] מטירוף read (l. 34), ידיי read ידי, ובעוונתי ויוציא | מצרה לרווחה | למען¹⁰: The margin reads as follows: שמו | ולמ[ען] ברית[ו] היות | כי לא הרעות | את אחד מהם | ולא המרחתי | וגם לא לקחתי | כופר והוא עד | ונאמן עליי | [ו]למאד קצת[י] בחיי ונקטה | רוחי וכבר | [כתבתי] אל מר רב | [ישי החבר ומר] רב שמואל גם | קדמו מכתבי[ם] | אל החבר מר רב | אפרים הכהן שצ' | ואל

⁹ דוד is an uncle from the maternal side in contrast to כוסרף. See, e.g., Ibn Ezra to Amos 6, 10 ומסרפו: אבי ואחי דודו כי דודו אחי אביו ומסרפו: אחי אמו. Sahlān's maternal uncle was a scholar by name Sa'adya b. Ephraim, as will be shown elsewhere.

¹⁰ The perpendicular strokes indicate the lines of the margin.

מר רב | [י]פת ראש הקהל | [ואל] אחינו | מר רב יעקב | [שנ] ואל מר
 רב | נתנאל תתברכו | יחד המקום | יעזור אתכם | ויוריק[ם] דרך | הישרה |
 . . . ויצליחכם בכל | אשר תעשו | ועקב שלום | שלמה . . . In the addition
 between ll. 27–8 read החברים after וכן. So much for the
 'correctness of Dr. Marmorstein's copy!

As regards the subject-matter of the letter, it deals with a communal dispute between Rabbinites and Ḳaraïtes. (Several other fragments have a bearing on this episode. They will be printed in another connexion.) The latter used to be under the jurisdiction of the former. But in 1024 the Caliph issued a decree that independence in religious matters be granted to each sect. The commander-in-chief in Syria was ordered to carry out this edict also in his province. From 1024–9 affairs were chaotic there owing to the rebellion, and this Act of Tolerance could not be carried out. But with the restoration of order it began to take effect. (This is a summary of my construction of the data to be given elsewhere.) Now certain scholars of the Palestine school (חברים, Dr. Marmorstein translates 'partners'!) seem to have contravened in Ramlah this Government Act, were arrested and taken to Damascus, where the commander-in-chief ad-Dizbiri probably resided then. 'Adi b. Menasse (b. al-Ḳzāz) was an important *Jewish* Kātib in this city. No doubt acting in an official capacity, he informed the prisoners that they would be released on condition that they took an oath by God and the Caliph no more to use the title Ḥaber, and never again to hold any communal office in Palestine. The Ḳaraïtes came in with other demands that a separate shop be assigned to them in the Jewish bazaar where meat be sold to them which was not examined in the Rabbinic way (בריקה), that they should be allowed to trade on the festival days fixed by the Rabbinites, and other instances. Solomon b. Judah writes to Sahlān to obtain influential support in Fustāt (Cairo) for the cause of the Rabbinites; let the central government be induced to send word to Ramlah and Damascus in their favour. The Gaon energetically appealed to other influential Jews in Fustāt. It should be added that ultimately the Rabbinites had the better

of their opponents. The whole subject cannot be fully discussed here. But one thing is beyond doubt, that our letter has no bearing whatever on the rebellion of 1024-9.

But, writes Dr. Marmorstein (p. 23), '*If there were the slightest doubt about the dating of the letters*, one other fragment shows *undeniably*¹¹ that the revolution took place in the time of Solomon, and furthermore that it had a very sad influence on the Jews in those countries'. Nobody denies this. There are some Genizah fragments which tell us a good deal about the terrible sufferings of the Jews in Jerusalem and Ramlah during the rebellion. But the fragment T.-S., 13 J. 20²⁵, which Dr. Marmorstein adduces as evidence (note 32), has nothing whatever to do with this crisis. He has discovered therein a tribal prince **יבקי בן אביריין** and also the Banū Guriāh (**בני גבירה**). Thus by some strange way of transliteration the Banū Jarrah (above, p. 417) become in MS. Banū Guriāh, Banū Guriāh, **בני גבירה**. But the MS. reads (l. 15) **נבארה בְּנִי נבארה** (vocalized in the original!). Thus: '... a letter from Mukhtar the Arab, and he said that my son Jabarah sent'! (Another fragment has expressly **נבארה בן מכתאר**.) As for the 'prince' **יבקי**, had Dr. Marmorstein considered the letter, dated Kislev (1) 340 Sel. (= 1028), from Alexandria to Ephraim b. She-marya (*JQR.*, XIX, 250-4), he would have found that the 'noble' **יבקי** plied the honourable trade of slave-dealer. His relatives and trade-fellows were Mukhtar (mentioned in *JQR.*, l. c., and in our fragment, l. 1) and his son Jabarah. Saracen pirates infested in those days the eastern Mediterranean, and boat-loads of captives from Byzantium were landed at the Egyptian ports, chiefly Alexandria. Several other Genizah fragments of this time mention Jewish captives from Byzantium whom their Egyptian co-religionists had to ransom. And our letter here is one of these fragments. It probably does not emanate from Alexandria, where the most representative Jew then was Netaneel Hakkohen b. El'azar, but from some other Egyptian port, probably Damietta. An elder, Nathan Hakkohen, negotiates with the captors about the ransom of the Jews. Some of the captives were also sent

¹¹ The italics are mine.

to Barkah (l. 16), farther west on the North-African coast. (There is no ground whatever for identifying this Nathan Hakkohen with a Nathan החבר (no Kohen!) in Fustāt, mentioned in Solomon b. Juda's letter to Ephraim b. Shemarya, Saadyana, XLI, as Dr. Marmorstein does.)

In conclusion, the following corrected readings of the fragment are given here. It is torn across the whole right-hand side. Thus dots, indicating missing letters, should be placed at the beginning of each line. The length of a whole line can be estimated from l. 11. In l. 1 for לוקחה read קחה, לו, for אבורין read אבורין, (l. 3) for ועניום read ועניום, (l. 4) for [התנ?]ה supply [ונבקש], for יענוה read יענוה, (l. 6) for והלבינו read והלכנו, for יום read ביום, for לילה read בלילה, (l. 8) for ושכה read ישוה, (l. 9) for לקחו read וקחו, for ולכן read ולכי, (l. 10) for כתבנו read ו[ש]כנו, (l. 12) before לוקנינו read ו, for יחי read יחי, for הקודש read הקודש, (l. 13) for לה[ם] read לה[ם], (l. 15) for בני גבירה read בני גבירה, (l. 17) before אחרי read כן, (l. 18) for ה read [אח]רים, for עבודה read תשובת השגרת (?), (l. 19) for עבודה read העברים, (l. 20) read [מ]לכותם [מ]לכותם, (l. 21) before עבורם read [ובכיותינו], of l. 22 only the last word [אלה] is preserved.

The moral of the above strictures is obvious. The facts speak for themselves. Needless to say, history—worthy of the name—cannot be reconstrued by such a method.

JACOB MANN.

London.

RECENT BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Alttestamentliche Studien Rudolf Kittel zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von A. ALT, G. BEER, F. BÖHL, G. DALMAN, J. HERRMANN, G. HÖLSCHER, M. LÖHR, O. PROCKSCH, F. PUUKKO, W. ROTHSTEIN, E. SELLIN, W. STAERK, C. STEUERNAGEL, F. WILKE. (*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament*, herausgegeben von RUDOLF KITTEL, Heft 13.) Leipzig: J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG, 1913. pp. 262.

AMONG the younger generation of Bible critics in Germany, Rudolf Kittel stands out as one of the foremost and most influential. He made himself conspicuous in every field of biblical research, but especially in textual criticism of the Old Testament. Having started with a reconstruction of the history of the Hebrews (*Geschichte der Hebräer*, 1888-92), he soon perceived that the primary need for biblical scholars everywhere was a new edition of the Hebrew Bible summarizing the results of century-old textual criticism. After years of painstaking labour such an edition was accomplished by a group of trustworthy scholars under his leadership, and though not every one would subscribe to all the emendations introduced in the foot-notes, still every student must feel indebted for this great service which considerably alleviates his burden and minimizes his labour. Kittel is also prominent as an exegete, having written excellent commentaries on Kings, Chronicles, and Psalms. But even more than in writing he exercised a great influence as teacher *ex cathedra*, having raised a group of gifted young scholars around him who pursued his method with the same gratifying results. It is these scholars who, in recognition of their master's splendid services, brought forth this admirable volume of essays, written in the strict scientific style of their teacher.

The collection opens with 'Israels Gaue unter Salomo' by Albrecht Alt. The author deals with the important geographical and topographical passage in 1 Kings 4, 7-19, discussing ver. 10, particularly the obscure Soko, which hitherto had been identified as *esh-Shuwēke* found both in the southern mountains and in the western hills of Judea. Showing the infeasibility of either of these identifications he proposes a third locality by that name, a village *Shuwēke*, situated on the western edge of the Samaritan mountains, overlooking from the north the entrance of the great valley of *Nāblus* into the plain of the coast. Its antiquity is attested from the well-known list of Palestinian cities conquered by Thutmosis III; from the list of high-priests in the Samaritan chronicle published by Neubauer, where Soko is named as the domicile of the last high-priest; and also from a crusader's document of the year 1253 where the place appears as Casale Socque.

The study of literary elements in the Bible, championed by Budde and Gunkel, is now very fascinating and quite fashionable. As an instance, G. Beer ('Zur israelitisch-jüdischen Briefliteratur') deals with epistolography among the Hebrews. He traces its origin in pre-exilic times, when it was largely shaped after Babylonian models; its development in post-exilic days, when the Persians were the predominant element; and, finally, its popularization in the Graeco-Roman period, when, alongside of the ordinary business letter, the learned epistle makes its appearance.

Franz Böhl contributes 'ברא, *bārā*, als Terminus' der Welt-schöpfung im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch', which is part of a contemplated work on the age and development of the Old Testament idea of creation. The author furnishes here a thorough and exhaustive study of the word *bārā*, its history and shades of meaning, its subjective and objective relations, and the *ex nihilo* implication.

G. Dalman discusses the species of flour in the Old Testament ('Die Mehlar ten im Alten Testament'). He finds the current translation of קמח 'flour' and סלת 'fine flour' misleading, as this implies סלת to be thinner than קמח. As a matter of fact, after a comparison of talmudic and rabbinic passages on the

subject and a study of the process of flour production among the Beduins in Palestine, he arrives at the conclusion that the opposite holds true, viz. that סֶלֶת is really fine groats derived from the kernel of the wheat and therefore thicker than קֶמַח. Owing to its fatness, sweetness, and purity, it is the costliest kind of flour in the Orient and is used mostly for fancy cakes and tarts.

Johannes Herrmann, author of *Ezechielstudien*, offers an exhaustive study on the divine names in Ezekiel ('Die Gottesnamen im Ezechieltexte'). From statistical data he establishes the fact that the compound אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה is used almost exclusively with the introductory formula בְּהֵאֱמַר א' , the closing formula וְנֹאם א' , or in addressing the Almighty by name; while יְהוָה is used in all other cases. He also tries to justify this process from internal evidence. In the matter of numerous discrepancies in the Septuagint, he believes in the genuineness of the masoretic as against the Greek text. Incidentally he arrives at the conclusion that the Septuagint version of Ezekiel is by three different hands (1-27, 28-39, 40-48), in which he is supported by other Septuagint scholars.

Gustav Hölscher ('Zum Ursprung des israelitischen Prophetentums') puts up the query: Is prophecy in Israel of ancient Hebrew or Canaanite origin? He fails to find the ecstatic manifestation of prophecy in the desert, among the pre-Islamic Beduins, or among any other Semitic tribes, but is able to trace it to Syria and Asia Minor, whence he maintains the Semites borrowed it. He shows that pure Semitism was free from vaticination, while the heathen tribes of Asia Minor possessed it in a preponderating degree and transmitted it to the whole inhabited globe.

Max Löhr ('Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik') is one of those who pin their faith to the modern metrical theory, and for that purpose have recourse to all kinds of readings in the Septuagint and other versions. He tries to reconstruct Isaiah, ch. 17. 1-11; 28. 1-4, 7-13, 14-22, 23-29; 29. 1-7. But the reconstruction in this case spells destruction. Many violent emendations and excisions are committed in the name of the *Ḳinah* metre, the result being an academic Hebrew text having all the ear-marks

of European logic but lacking the characteristic fervour and charm of the great rhetorician.

O. Procksch ('Die letzten Worte Davids') champions the antiquity and originality of David's last words (2 Sam. 23. 1-7), which modern commentators are prone to set down as post-exilic on a par with Psalms. He leans towards the view of Klostermann and Gressmann, who consider it one of the oldest lyric poems in the Bible, dating back to the Davidic age. In his comments on the text the author introduces emendations, but these, while improving the metre, fail to improve the style.

A. F. Puukko ('Jeremias Stellung zum Deuteronomium') claims that Jeremiah's attitude to the Book of Deuteronomy was passive at first and then became decidedly antagonistic. This explains the otherwise strange phenomenon that, although already a prophet during the revival of King Josiah, he kept aloof from the movement, because concentration and regulation of the cult constituted a mere compromise hardly in agreement with his lofty principle of abandonment of the cult and the improvement of the heart.

J. Wilhelm Rothstein institutes a rhythmological investigation of David's dirges (2 Sam. 1. 19 ff. and 3. 33 f.). The result may be imagined when we consider that these rock-ribbed verses have to stand muster before the author who insists on forcing them into the Procrustean bed of an immutable 4 : 3 scheme. Whatever suits the scheme goes in, while the rest is discarded as spurious and ungenuine. Surely, Eduard Sievers has done a great service, but this is more than balanced by the harm and mischief of the ultra-radical critics of the masoretic text, who are bent upon destruction *per se*.

E. Sellin ('Das Zelt Jahwes') argues that the tent of the covenant (אהל מועד), though proved by Wellhausen to be unhistorical in the Priestly Code, still was an historical fact during the migration of the Jews in the wilderness, where it served as the place of God's revelation. Moreover, such a tent was found in Palestine in pre-Solomonic days, though not with the functions ascribed to it by P.

Willy Staerk, in 'Ein Hauptproblem der hebräischen Metrik', takes Rothstein to task for a law laid down in his *Grundzüge des hebräischen Rhythmus* (1909), to the effect that 'all verses¹ of a lyric poem forming a unit in itself follow the same rhythmic scheme'. He insists, and rightfully so, that this principle opened the flood-gate of wilful emendation and arbitrary criticism of the masoretic text of the Bible, whole verses and passages being swept away because they do not fit this self-constituted scheme. He is of the opinion that mixed rather than uniform metres are the rule in early Hebrew lyrics, and to prove this he analyses a number of such compositions, both short and long. What results are mixed metres, even and uneven, in various orders (2:2, 2:3, 3:3, 3:4, &c.). This is sound criticism. 'The mountain will not go to Mahomet, let Mahomet go to the mountain.' Any metrical system that lays claim to recognition must be adapted to the text which it aims to elucidate, but never should the text be cut to fit a hypothetical metre.

The prophecy on Eli's progeny (1 Sam. 2. 27-36) is considered by modern critics an insertion by a deuteronomistic hand. Carl Steuernagel ('Die Weissagung über die Eliden'), through an anatomic (or shall I say atomic?) analysis fostered in the laboratories of Wellhausen, wants to prove that this passage lacks unity and hence is the product of several hands: vers. 27-34, with the exception of a few phrases due to a later editor, were composed in the eighth or the end of the ninth century, while 35-6 are deuteronomistic. Indeed, how is it possible that a passage of ten verses should belong to one man? Such is the destructive literary criticism of some scholars. How little the Occidental mind understands the literary proclivities of an Oriental people!

Fritz Wilke ('Das Skythenproblem im Jeremiabuch') subjects the Scythian problem to a new investigation. He argues with considerable learning that the enemy from the North cannot refer to the wild Scythians who, according to good historical authority (Herodotus is not reliable), just brushed through the coast of Palestine but never entered the mainland. Like his contemporaries, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, Jeremiah has in

mind the implacable Chaldeans who were to play such an important part in the shaping of the future destiny of the Jewish people. *πάντα ῥεῖ*. The scientific facts of to-day are the exploded fallacies of to-morrow. Is tradition going to be restored?

Reden und Aufsätze von D. HERMANN GUNKEL. Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1913. pp. viii + 192.

These essays, dedicated to the Collegium Academicum of the University of Christiania for the bestowal of the degree of Doctor of Theology, have been collected from various German periodicals where they appeared during the last decade. Considering their excellent tenor and sterling value it is no small merit to have resuscitated them from the dusty heap of ephemeral and very often inaccessible magazines, where they escaped observation and even casual attention. The purpose of the author in presenting them in a permanent form was, as he tells us in the preface, to emphasize once more his constructionist attitude with regard to modern biblical criticism. As is known, the followers of Kuenen and Wellhausen endeavoured to outdo their masters in over-minute analysis and destructive criticism of the text of the Scriptures, establishing a radical school of Higher Criticism whose sole purpose was to multiply sources *ad infinitum* and thus accomplish the dehistoricization of the text. The fact that quite often they operated with tools that were more than questionable did not matter much to them, as long as they could tear down another brick from the ancient edifice. Naturally, every safe and sane student of the Bible revolted against this negative and destructive school of criticism, and its spokesmen came into disrepute. Gunkel, who belongs to the moderate wing of this school, is on the defensive trying to parry the attack. As one of the most brilliant Old Testament critics he knows how to mitigate the adverse judgement by declaring his disinterestedness

in his scientific research. His textual and comparative studies are not an end *per se*: the latter aim at a reconstruction of the history of religion, the former have as their object an understanding of the history of biblical literature. These two—*Religionsgeschichte* and *Literaturgeschichte*—go hand in hand and are complementary. Gunkel is their sponsor and he has endeavoured to build them upon a rational basis. Certainly such a policy, the author claims, is not destructive but exceedingly constructive.

The collection opens with an oration on Bernhard Stade, delivered on the occasion of the presentation of Stade's picture to the Theological Faculty at Giessen on May 8, 1908. Only a student of Stade who lived in the immediate propinquity of the master could offer such an intimate description and minute characterization of the man who stood at the threshold of a new era in biblical research and by sheer effort managed to become one of its most prominent leaders. Alongside of Wellhausen he began to reconstruct the history and religion of the people of Israel, and finally laid down his results in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* and *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*. In contrast to the sage of Göttingen, his forte lay in synthesis rather than analysis, in collective pictures rather than individual delineations. Gunkel describes him as a great fighter willing to stake everything on the altar of his convictions, as a powerful polemist brooking no compromise, as a theologian who fails to see in science a deterrent to religion, as a patriot who sees an advancement of the State in the progress of the Church. Perhaps one of his greatest merits lay in the establishment of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, under whose banner rallied all the new forces and whose influence is still alive to-day, long after the demise of its eminent founder.

In 'Ziele und Methoden der Erklärung des Alten Testaments' Gunkel outlines the essence of biblical exegesis, its aim, and the means by which this aim is to be attained. It is an interesting essay and should be read by every neophyte who undertakes to write a commentary on the Bible. The requirements are severe, and the apparatus criticus grows to great proportions. Besides

textual criticism, a knowledge of political history and archaeology, a religious frame of mind, and many other requisites of like nature, one must bring along an aesthetic appreciation of the context and a power of discrimination between the various species, narrative and poetical, in Jewish literature. Only in this wise can one produce a meritorious and lasting piece of work. That Gunkel is not only preaching to others is evidenced from his eminently successful commentary on Genesis. In this age of comparative studies it is no longer enough to know the Hebrew text, we must compare it to contemporary literary documents among neighbouring nations. If our embryonic exegetes would only follow Gunkel's advice we would be spared many insipid and jejune commentaries.

One of Gunkel's greatest efforts was by way of advocating a new discipline in the study of the Old Testament, viz. a history of Israelitic literature, in the same sense that we understand a history of English or German literature. Among modern Old Testament scholars, Graf Baudissin was the first to point out the necessity for historians of Israelitic-Jewish literature to differentiate between various species and styles of writing (*Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*). In this sense Budde (*Geschichte der alt-hebräischen Literatur*) endeavoured to determine the various literary strata in the Bible. But Gunkel made this the pivot of his manifold activities and endeavoured to expound it on more than one occasion. For a full statement, cp. his *Die Israelitische Literatur*. His essay 'Die Grundprobleme der israelitischen Literaturgeschichte' outlines the essentials of such a comprehensive history of literature. First comes a division into prose and poetry, then a subdivision of these headings, and within each category the material treated and the form of treatment have to be determined. Another important consideration is whether a certain section was in oral or written circulation, and whether it was anonymous or credited to an author. In the latter case we must find out the personal and other characteristics of the author. Finally, we must institute a comparison with related species in the literatures of foreign countries.

Gunkel offers some specimens of such an analysis in his essays on the Samson narrative (pp. 38 ff.), the Ruth idyl (pp. 65 ff.), and the Psalms (pp. 93 ff.). Closely related to the latter is 'Die Endhoffnung der Psalmisten', dealing with the eschatological element in Psalms.

'Ägyptische Parallelen zum Alten Testament' and 'Ägyptische Danklieder' seek to establish a basis for parallels in the two related literatures. It is interesting to note that in the field of comparative literature Gunkel is quite conservative. This is especially marked in his sceptic attitude to Jensen's sensational *Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (pp. 149 ff.). He condemns it with all the emphasis at his command and with as trenchant a sarcasm as is within the boundaries of decorum. Like Eduard Meyer, he brands these excrescences of Pan-Babylonism as 'wild phantasies', since they are not based on a sound method of comparison. According to Gunkel, it is not enough to establish the degree of similarity between two events in order to prove their interdependence, but we must also determine the degree of dissimilarity between them, and then weigh the two degrees to see which is stronger. If Jensen would have applied such a test most of his phantastic theories would have been nipped in the bud. On the whole, Gunkel, the theologian and Hebraist, is very jealous of the irresponsible interference of Assyriologists and their meddling with the Bible. To judge the Old Testament, he maintains, one must know something more than cuneiform: one must have a deep insight into the various books in order to be able to gauge their mode of speech and thought.

'Die Oden Salomos' deals with certain literary and historical aspects of the newly discovered Odes of Solomon. The author finds that it is a product of the syncretistic-gnostic movement in the early days of Christianity (about 150). He offers a translation and literary analysis of odes 24, 42, 31, 39, 20, 29, 36, in order to show the general trend of thought manifested in them.

The Culture of Ancient Israel. By CARL HEINRICH CORNILL, Professor of Old Testament History in the University of Halle. Chicago: THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO., 1914. pp. iv + 167 + 12 plates.

Hebrew Types. Studies in Hebrew Life and Thought. By the Rev. F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, M.A., D.D. London: FRANCIS GRIFFITHS, 1913. pp. 313.

It is not a new book by the gifted Old Testament scholar that the Open Court Publishing Co. presents to us, but rather a collection of independent essays that appeared at various times and on various occasions. The first, entitled 'Rise of the People of Israel', and translated by A. H. Gunlogsen, traces in sharp and bold outlines the origin and development of the people of Israel from Abraham to David, as related in the Octateuch, with the modifications, of course, of the doctrine of the Higher Critics. The second, with the caption 'Moses, the Founder of Monotheistic Religion', and rendered into English by Lydia G. Robinson, gives an excellent character-sketch of the great law-giver who shaped the destiny of Israel and gave them true and unalloyed monotheism. The third, headed 'The Education of Children in Ancient Israel' and translated by W. H. Carruth, offers a psychological insight into the pedagogical methods of the ancient Hebrew. The fourth, 'Music in the Old Testament' (translated by Lydia G. Robinson) is an interesting exposition of this popular and yet abstruse subject of the Bible. As further illustrations, twelve plates with musical instruments are added at the end of the book. The fifth and last essay, 'The Psalms in Universal Literature' (translated by W. H. Carruth), furnishes various reasons why the Psalms belong to mankind as a whole, constituting part and parcel of universal literature. In these essays, Cornill, the great textual scholar, appears as a popular writer on some intricate Old Testament subjects. His style is charming and his treatment unimpeachable. He is an adept in presenting old things in a new and interesting light, and with him one is sure to glean

some new information on subjects which were deemed heretofore well-nigh exhausted.

The Rev. Montgomery Hitchcock discusses the leading types of the Old Testament and their lessons to mankind. His treatment is subjective, coloured with a Christian pigment. Indeed, considering the extent of the moralizing element, the essays might be suspected as being a series of homilies and sermons such as are preached in churches for the guidance of the congregants. At least the style is homiletic. Nevertheless, the author considers it incumbent upon himself to give in the preface a brief exposition of the documentary theory of the Pentateuch and to combat its latter-day excrescences. He also takes a fling at the radical *Encyclopedia Biblica* and the Pan-Babylonian school of Winckler and Jensen. In treating of the Psalter he advocates the excision of the vindictive type of the psalms and also those of a purely local and temporary interest. Two discourses on the Ideal Servant and the Messianic Type have special application to Jesus of Nazareth.

Herod's Temple, its New Testament Associations and its Actual Structure. By W. SHAW CALDECOTT. London: CHARLES H. KELLY [1913]. pp. xv + 395.

Outline Lecture on Herod's Temple of the New Testament. By W. SHAW CALDECOTT. With Photograph of the Author's Model of the Temple. London: CHARLES H. KELLY [1913]. pp. 16.

The Cherubim and the Throne. By A. STACY WATSON. London: MORGAN & SCOTT, Ltd., 1913. pp. vi + 115.

Mr. Caldecott's volume on Herod's temple concludes the cycle on Jewish temples to which the author has devoted ten years of his life. Like its predecessors (*The Tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, The Second Temple in Jerusalem*) it deals not only with the structure but also with the history of the edifice. In fact

the latter occupies the first half of the book and almost overshadows the former, so that one cannot escape the suspicion that the New Testament associations overpowered the author's sense of orientation and architectural bearing. This suspicion is confirmed by a close examination, which shows the treatment to be subjective rather than objective. The point of view is Christian throughout and is emphasized beyond measure. What else can be said of a book which, having set out to give an exact description of Herod's temple, winds up with the cryptic statement that 'Jesus the Christ is at once Temple and Altar, Priest and Sacrifice'? Moreover, allusions are made here and there to 'pharisaic bigotry' and darts are hurled at the Rabbis of the Talmud. Very illuminating is the attitude of the author to the Mishna *Middoth* dealing with the measurements of the last temple: he impugns its accuracy and trustworthiness, yet draws upon it for his measurements. His main source is, of course, Josephus, who is very painstaking in his descriptions of Herod's temple. Where Josephus and *Middoth* conflict the author tries to force a compromise between the two, leaning all the time to the side of Josephus. In the reconstruction of this magnificent building Mr. Caldecott makes use of a threefold cubit. From a study of the metrology of the Bible he arrives at the conclusion that the biblical cubit had three distinct lengths, each having a specific application. He therefore gives to the Temple courts a cubit of a foot and a half; to the Temple buildings a cubit of a foot and a fifth; to the golden furniture of the Sanctuary a sacred cubit of nine-tenths of a foot. That this scheme is quite arbitrary need hardly be told. Our knowledge of the cubit is still uncertain. It is not impossible that it varied in length at different times and with different objects; but we still lack the means to determine it. No wonder his plan looks more like a square, while, from all accounts that have come down to us, we expect either a trapezium or trapezoid. Altogether the treatment lacks scientific precision. Thus Ezekiel's temple, considered by many scholars as a matter of prophetic imagination, is construed as a reality and often confused with the second or

Zerubbabel's temple. An appendix at the end of the book contains an English translation of the Mishna *Middoth* reprinted by permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund from the volume on Jerusalem. The translation is by Bishop Barclay, corrected by Dr. Chaplin from a comparison of various Hebrew texts. Mr. Caldecott introduces some insignificant variants, and also adds by way of notes extracts from the commentary of Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro. The Hebrew words reproduced in these notes are rarely correct. Of great assistance are the two large plans, one of Mount Moriah and another of Herod's Temple, inserted in a pocket of the cover.

The Outline Lecture is a *résumé* of the larger work, giving the most essential features of the great building and a few New Testament associations. The photograph, very well executed, is made from a model on view at the publisher's book saloon in London.

Mr. Watson's book on the Cherubim belongs to the realm of fancy. It is true the author makes an attempt to define this enigmatic word, but he loses himself in a labyrinth of mystical arguments and esoteric doctrines from which he is unable to extricate himself.

An Introduction to the Old Testament, chronologically arranged.

By HARLAN CREELMAN, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature, Auburn Theological Seminary. With a foreword by FRANK KNIGHT SANDERS, Ph.D., D.D. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1917. pp. xxxiv + 383.

The Old Testament. By CHILPERIC EDWARDS. (The Inquirer's Library, No. 3.) London: WATTS & Co., 1913. pp. vi + 154.

The Literature of the Old Testament. By GEORGE FOOT MOORE, Harvard University (The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge). New York: HENRY HOLT & Co. [1913]. pp. 256.

The Bible of To-day. By the Rev. ALBAN BLAKISTON, M.A. Cambridge: at the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1914. pp. xvi + 240.

Biblisches Handbuch für höhere Lehranstalten. Von H. HERKENNE, Dr. theol., Privatdozent an der Universität zu Bonn, und K. MASSIERER, Religions- und Oberlehrer am Städt. Lyzeum und Oberlyzeum zu Crefeld. Erster Teil: Bibelkunde und Biblische Texte. Bibelkunde bearbeitet von K. MASSIERER, Biblische Texte bearbeitet von Dr. H. HERKENNE. Bonn: Verlag von PETER HANSTEIN, 1914. pp. vii + 165.

The Bible: its Origin and Authority. By W. F. LOFTHOUSE, M.A. London: ROBERT CULLEY. pp. vi + 151.

The Making of the Old Testament. By WILLIAM F. LOFTHOUSE, M.A. (Manuals for Christian Thinkers). London: CHARLES H. KELLY [1915]. pp. 144.

The Making of the Bible. By SAMUEL M. VERNON. New York: THE ABINGDON PRESS [1916]. pp. 191.

Bible Books Outlined. By ARTHUR EMERSON HARRIS. An Analysis, Synopsis, and Diagram covering each book of the Bible. Vol. i: Old Testament. Philadelphia: THE JOHN C. WINSTON COMPANY [1916]. pp. 140.

Introductions to the Bible have become a fashion with biblical scholars. In some countries it is customary for every Old Testament professor to put out an introduction, whether he has something new to say or not. And yet it must be realized that the best has been done, and that it is very difficult to turn out something novel in this line. As a matter of fact, the larger number of introductions nowadays are simply modifications of their great predecessors, and cannot lay claim to originality and independent research. The only innovation that may be introduced lies in the direction of arrangement of material. And it is this matter of arrangement that constitutes the *raison d'être* of Professor Creelman's elaborate and comprehensive work. As the title indicates, it is arranged chronologically, and there is no gainsaying the usefulness of such an arrangement. It focusses the attention of the reader on the entire literary output of a certain period, and thus lends an air of finality to his judgement. It synchronizes and synthesizes various literary

species which by their nature are incorporated in different books, and so gives us a vivid impression of all the creative activity of the people of Israel at one time. This new scheme is handled with precision in the present work. The ground covered by the Old Testament is divided into different periods, and each period is subdivided into two parts. In the first the historical narratives relating to the period and the literature originating in it are treated; in the second the biblical material is given in chronological outline, supplemented by notes. Thus the prophetic and other species of literature receive their right historical setting, and the Old Testament, by means of the outlines furnished, may be read and studied in its chronological order. In point of literary criticism it leans pre-eminently on its illustrious predecessor, Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. It is this feature that makes the treatment sane and judicious, and recommends the book as a reliable aid to students of the English version of the Bible. An added merit is the terse yet explicit style by which the author was enabled to include so much information within so brief a compass. There are three appendices and four indices which will prove very useful for quick reference.

'The Inquirer's Library' is to consist of a series of handy and low-priced volumes dealing with the fundamental issues of religious controversy, such as theism, immortality, the Bible, morality, &c. The present volume on the Old Testament is interesting in more than one respect. In the first place, it contains a maximum of information within a minimum of space: in the twenty-nine chapters the author runs through the whole gamut of Bible subjects, treating them in a brief but rational way. In the second place, the treatment is quite admirable and up to date, which puts it above the level of a mere encyclopedia or Bible dictionary. To mention but a few headings, it deals with the Hebrew text, the composition and date of the Pentateuch, the Hebrew cosmogony and its parallels in Babylonian and Sumerian literature, the source of Semitic law, the religion of Israel, biblical and heathen chronology, historic romance,

popular fiction, wisdom literature, Hebrew philosophy, the poetry of hatred and love, the Hebrew canon, and others. As a novelty four chapters are devoted to the Elephantine papyri and the Jewish colony in Egypt, and these certainly make interesting reading, though their deductions are not always correct. Herein lies the weakness of the author: he out-Herods Herod in his radical attitude towards the Hebrew Scriptures, subscribing to every idiosyncrasy of irresponsible critics. In his judgements he follows blindly the protagonists of the Pan-Babylonian theory, while Black and Cheyney's *Encyclopedia Biblica* forms his *vade mecum*. Like these his predecessors he knows no moderation, and he can hardly hide a sneer whenever the veracity of a biblical statement is involved. Nothing else, I believe, condemns these captious critics more than their uncompromising attitude in trusting every other but the Hebrew records.

How different is Professor Moore's concise and authoritative treatment of the subject! His little volume is thorough and yet popular. Every statement of his is exact, for he knows how to winnow the wheat from the chaff. He presents the most essential points of the introductory science in a laconic and clear style, so as to make it evident even to a tyro in this field. The book is written for Christian readers, hence the ecclesiastical arrangement of Daniel with the Prophets. Another point of departure is the excision of Jonah from the Minor Prophets, and coupling it with Esther and Ruth as mere narratives or novelettes. Notes are dispensed with altogether. A short bibliography and an index add to the usefulness of the book.

Blakiston's volume constitutes a general introduction to the Scriptures as a whole, aiming to give a brief and succinct survey of the entire field of biblical study as a preliminary to special and detailed introductions. Its pivot is the reconciliation of the doctrine of inspiration with the new literary-historical criticism. This phase is treated in the first chapter, where the author endeavours to prove that inspiration applies only to the religious

and not the mythological and legendary elements of the Bible. The latter, therefore, are legitimately subject to a rationalistic analysis; nay, it is the Divine will and purpose that they should so be studied. As to the late dates assigned to some documents, that does not detract from their inspirational character and divine origin, for each successive editor who pieced the documents together was inspired through revelation to accomplish that act. Even the form of the documents was changed through the vicissitudes of time, but this too was done through inspiration. In a word, inspiration is responsible for everything, even for the final shaping of the canon, and, what is more remarkable, for the modern documentary hypothesis! For, if God did not want us to analyse the Bible He would not have endowed us with the reason to do it. *Sic eunt fata hominum!* The second chapter deals with the text, literature, and canon of the Old Testament. Every phase of these three subjects is indicated briefly but authoritatively and in a commendable style. The greatest space is allotted to the third chapter on the text, canon, and literature of the New Testament. The treatment here, particularly of the text, is more minute and circumstantial. The last chapter is given to the religious affinities of Judaism and Christianity, which in other words means the tracing of the development of the Nazarene creed out of the Judaic religion. This chapter is chiefly historical, dealing with the history and chronology of the Jews and the surrounding nations, Babylon, Egypt, Persia, and Greece, and closing with an appreciation of the indebtedness of Christianity to the Old Testament and to Judaic thought. At the end of each chapter there is a fairly comprehensive bibliography. There is also added, as an appendix, a table of the extant Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian literatures, chronologically arranged, up to about A. D. 180. It is a handy and useful volume, of good appearance, and of an excellent style.

Bible manuals are not rare in Germany, but the manual by Herkenne and Massierer is written for Catholic schools and colleges and from the Catholic standpoint. Its aim is to present all the information necessary to an understanding of the Scriptures

together with extracts from biblical texts, especially of the didactic and prophetic variety, barring those already found in current text-books. A subsequent aim is to give a brief exposition of Bible history which should serve as a practical preparation to advanced students and teachers of the Bible. The main task in such an undertaking is to crowd in as much information as possible within a limited space, and this the editors succeeded in doing. Within one hundred pages they offer an introduction to both the Old and New Testaments, a physical and political geography of the Holy Land, an archaeology, and other things pertaining thereto. Of course it is evident that this cannot be done except in bare outline and clear-cut definitions, and this is the method adopted here. Arguments are barred altogether, and results are formulated in laconic statements. As might have been expected, the editors shun modern biblical criticism and the documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch, clinging to tradition and to the ecclesiastical teachings about inspiration. The new theories are alluded to, but only to be dismissed as wild and unfounded. The greater part of the book is devoted to Old Testament texts culled from various books and commented on briefly. The second volume should deal with biblical history and chronology.

Mr. Lofthouse in his volume on the Bible dwells more on the authority than the origin of the Scriptures, discussing the Bible as revelation and its logos as spirit. The Christian standpoint is over-emphasized. The opening chapter on the Bible and its names is instructive. Quite novel and interesting is the inclusion here of a comparison of the Bible with other sacred books of the East, like the Vedas and the Koran. The English versions receive special treatment, while all others are treated together.

Mr. Lofthouse's second volume on *The Making of the Old Testament* is a short and succinct account of the canon and textual history of the Old Testament, traced from the early days of the versions down to the age of the Massorites. The last

chapter on the Hagiographa deals also with the Apocrypha. The treatment is conservative and exact, closing with a most essential bibliography and index.

Mr. Vernon's book is a homily on the truth of Christian revelation rather than an impartial disquisition on the making of the Bible. The centre of gravity is the New Testament, the Old Testament receiving but scant and only casual attention. Both are handled *manu impropria*, and in anything but a judicious and dispassionate way. It is quite appropriate that he should wind up with a fiery discourse against critical studies of the Bible.

Mr. Harris's outlines of the Bible are the result of practical work in a Bible class, where one book was analysed and diagrammed each week. The method is good and commendable, particularly in Christian Bible classes for which alone it is intended. Its usefulness hinges mainly on the various diagrams, which are of great help in studies of this kind. The student gets at a glance the whole extent and import of a book. The diagrams are sometimes even very elaborate, and differ in form from one another. The present volume is to be followed by another on the New Testament.

The Unsealed Book, or How the Bible Came to Many Lands.

By W. MELVILLE HARRIS, M.A. London: The LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY [1915]. pp. 152.

One Hundredth Annual Report of the American Bible Society, 1916. Together with a list of auxiliary societies, their officers, and an appendix. New York: AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY, 1916. pp. 639.

Mr. Harris relates the story of the marvellous and phenomenal spread of the Scriptures in recent times. Since propagation was the result of translation, the author traces this process of translation from the earliest times till our own days. Only that, barring the Septuagint and Vulgate, he confines himself to English versions, whose origin he narrates in detail. He then comments on the efforts of the British and Foreign Bible Society and

kindred associations in their indefatigable crusade of Christianization in all parts of the world. Portraits of great Bible translators and facsimiles of some versions accompany the story which has, as an added feature, suggestive topics for discussion at the close of each chapter.

The one-hundredth annual report of the American Bible Society, under the headings Issues, Circulation, Translation, and Revision, records increased activity despite the abnormal and chaotic conditions produced by the World War. The greatest progress is recorded in China, a country so far unaffected by the great struggle. The total distribution of Bible copies during 1915 amounted to nearly eight million. It is interesting to note that in the one hundred years of its existence (1816-1916) the Society disposed of 117,687,591 volumes in all the parts of the habitable globe. But the distribution of Bibles does not constitute a criterion for conversions, as the managers seem to think. Some buy a Bible because that is the only way to get rid of the missionary; others get it in order to resell it and make some profit on it. There are numerous cases in the Report of Bibles being burned by Catholic priests after their distribution. Despite all this, the untiring zeal of the Society must be admired. The full story of this effort is related vividly by Henry Otis Dwight in *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1916).

Gains to the Bible from Modern Criticism, and other Essays. By J. FREDERICK SMITH, P. H. WICKSTEED, G. C. FIELD, W. MORITZ WESTON, S. H. MELLONE, WILLIAM WOODING, C. GORDON AMES, ALEX. WEBSTER. London: BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION, 1913. pp. vi + 314.

Suggested Explanations of some supposed Bible Inaccuracies. By GEORGE WILLIAMS, an Honorary Secretary of the Open-Air Mission for Ireland. London: HEADLEY BROTHERS, [1913]. pp. 76.

The Truthfulness of the Scriptures. With a comprehensive notice of recent controversies on the subject. By the Rev. GAVIN CARLYLE, M.A. London: ELLIOT STOCK, 1913. pp. xi + 128.

The Old Testament and Modern Criticism. Six Lectures preached before the University of Dublin in the Chapel of Trinity College by Rev. ANDREW CRAIG ROBINSON, M.A. (Donnellan Lectures, 1912-13). London: LUZAC & Co., 1913. pp. 76.

Some Mistakes of the Higher Critics. By S. B. MACY. With seven illustrations and map. London: H. R. ALLENSON, [1913]. pp. 110.

The ten essays comprising the neat little volume *Gains to the Bible from Modern Criticism* had been issued separately in the Unitarian Penny Library, but now they appear in a permanent book form. As might be expected, they represent the point of view of modern Unitarians in dealing with Bible criticism and religious questions generally. The first two ('Gains to the Bible from Modern Criticism' by J. Frederick Smith, and 'Old and New Views of the Old Testament' by Philip H. Wicksteed) endorse the results of the Higher Critics, and show the preponderance of advantage over disadvantage gained through them. 'The Doctrine of the Trinity in Recent Apologetic' by G. C. Field argues against the recent conception of Trinity on a philosophic basis. The Rev. Alex. Webster deals with 'The Unitarian Movement in Scotland: its Justification', 'The Religious Message of Robert Burns', and 'Robert Louis Stevenson and Henry Drummond'. From these it appears that the path of Unitarianism in Scotland, where Calvinistic dogmatism is strongly entrenched, is not altogether smooth. W. Moritz Weston relates why he ceased to be a Roman Catholic, and finally became a Unitarian. The other essays—'The Revelation of the Father' by Sydney H. Mellone, 'Religious Changes that I have seen' by William Wooding, and 'God's Part and Ours' by C. Gordon Ames—are likewise concerned with various aspects of Unitarianism.

Mr. Williams's attitude is based on Catholic tradition, according to which the Bible was inspired by God, and hence every jot and

title in it is immaculate and faultless. All seeming errors have satisfactory solutions, but in many cases human infirmity hinders a recognition of them. To prove this assertion he presents a number of such solutions in both the Old and New Testaments, which are really forced harmonizations of apparent contradictions, and take us back to the primitive state of exegesis in the days of the Church Fathers. Such explanations may be accepted *sine dubio* by pious and unruffled minds, but they fail to convince unbiased and independent intellects. It ought to become clear even to Catholics that the best way to demolish Higher Criticism is by meeting it on its own ground and combating it with its own weapons. This would, of course, require Herculean efforts, but it must be done sooner or later, if the conservative creed is to assert itself side by side with the radical hypothesis.

Mr. Carlyle likewise, in the name of faith, attacks the rationalistic school of Bible exegesis which, in his estimation, aims to undermine historical Christianity. He is particularly severe with German critics and their iconoclastic methods which produced that *enfant terrible*—Higher Criticism. However, his argument is purely sentimental and shallow, despite the fact that he adduces the testimony of the late Lord Kelvin as to the existence of a supernatural, divine power. The fact is that this point has never been questioned by any of the higher critics, whose sole concern is the literary and historical aspect of the Scriptures. Mere fulminations fail to meet the issue which is based on facts, and verbosity will not take the wind out of the sails of an intelligent opponent. It is futile to quote the opinion of missionaries against the verisimilitudes of philologists and historians of high repute, and it is certainly presumptuous to pin one's faith exclusively to Canon Girdlestone's *Foundations of the Bible* and *Studies in Old Testament Criticism*. As the matter stands the shafts fail to hit, and the arguments against evolution and the documentary theory do not carry.

Mr. Robinson is another champion of the conservative cause, fighting valiantly *pro aris et focis*. He enters the lists against

the modern school of Bible criticism in general, and in particular against the Graf-Wellhausen theory. He launches philippics and diatribes against Driver and his confrères who helped to propagate the heresy of post-exilic authorship of the Bible. His arguments and refutations are drawn largely from Assyrian-Babylonian records which have become familiar to us of late. Lecture I deals with certain features of the Pentateuch; II with the Mosaic Ritual; III and IV with the Book of Isaiah; V and VI with the Book of Daniel. Nineteen illustrations accompany the text, which ends with an invocation to Jesus.

Miss Macy's little volume was written to show 'that the Bible is not a book of legends, which is out of date in these enlightened days; but that it is a Book of Truth, the historical value of which time is making more and more clear'. Unfortunately the author sounds the asseverative rather than the argumentative note, which in the small compass of the book may be pardonable. But these assertions are sometimes baseless and ridiculous, as when, in the part dealing with the New Testament, she still clings to the spurious and interpolated statement of Josephus (*Antiquities*, xviii, 3, § 3) in order to prove the existence of Jesus.

Miniatur-Bibel. Die ganze heilige Schrift. Nach dem Urtext und mit Berücksichtigung der besten Uebersetzungen herausgegeben von FRANZ EUGEN SCHLACHTER. Dreizehnte Auflage neu bearbeitet von K. LINDER und E. KAPPELER. Bonn a. Rh.: JOHANNES SCHERGENS, 1913. pp. xi + 733.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised. The text conformable to that of the edition of 1611, commonly known as the Authorized or King James's version (HOLMAN PRONOUNCING EDITION). Philadelphia: A. J. HOLMAN CO., [1914]. pp. 1264 + 32 + 53 + 109 + 94 + 4.

The Emphasised Bible. A New Translation designed to set forth the exact meaning, the proper terminology, and the graphic

style of the sacred originals ; arranged to show at a glance narrative, speech, parallelism, and logical analysis, also to enable the student readily to distinguish the several divine names ; and emphasised throughout after the idioms of the Hebrew and Greek tongues. With expository introduction, select references, and appendices of notes. By JOSEPH BRYANT ROTHERHAM. Cincinnati: THE STANDARD PUBLISHING COMPANY, [1916]. pp. 920 [Old Testament only].

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. Authorized Version. With a new system of connected topical references to all the greater themes of Scripture, with annotations, revised marginal renderings, summaries, definitions, chronology, and index. To which are added helps at hard places, explanations of seeming discrepancies, and a new system of paragraphs. Edited by Rev. C. I. SCOFIELD, D.D. New and improved edition. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, American Branch, 1917. pp. vi + 1370.

Schlachter's translation of the Scriptures appeared first in 1905, and since then has experienced thirteen editions. Its popularity is due to its miniature size, which does not infringe upon the clearness of the type: the latter is quite small yet distinct, and, owing to the India paper, far from overtaxing the eye. The translation, while made from the Hebrew original, is accommodated to the German idiom. The text is continuous, except where the subject changes. Space is also gained through the use of the modern economizing orthography. The new edition differs from the older ones in that it bears titles at the head of each chapter. A few explanatory notes are appended at the end.

In the Holman Pronouncing Bible every proper name is syllabified and accented, and the letters which have variable sounds are diacritically marked according to the best modern standards of pronunciation. This comprehensive volume is attractive through clearness of page, admirable type-setting (which is the work of the famous Riverside Press), and a balanced

arrangement of references. At the close there is a 'Treasury of Biblical Information' arranged by the Rev. F. N. Peloubet, D.D., containing a chronology, an enumeration of the English versions of the Bible, weights and measures, Jewish coins, and many other useful things. Then follows 'Oriental Lights', 'Illuminating Bible Texts and Bible Truths', by means of a vast array of pictures and illustrations that really illustrate, with descriptions and explanations of Oriental objects, of Bible manners and customs and everyday life in Palestine, and of the recent discoveries in Babylonia and Egypt which have shed a new light on the Old Testament. This is followed by a comparative concordance and four thousand questions and answers on the Old and New Testaments, intended to open up the Scriptures for the use of students and Sunday-school teachers.

The Emphasised Bible is a reprint of the 1897 edition. The version of the Old Testament, with which we are concerned here, was adjusted to the late Dr. Ginsburg's massoretico-critical text. Emphasis was secured in various ways, such as varying indentations of the lines, varieties of type, increased size of the page, distinct signs, but above everything else, through diction accommodated as closely as possible to the Hebrew original. The notes call attention to Massoretic variants, and also to variants in versions and commentaries. While following the Hebrew diction the translator retains the ecclesiastical order of the books. The apocrypha are eliminated, but get a special note at the end.

The Scofield Reference Bible, which was published first in 1909, and was distinguished by a new system of connected topical references and other improvements of a marked character (like analytical summaries, expository notes, clear-cut definitions, and division into paragraphs), lies now before us in a new and improved edition. A decided improvement are the chronological data on the top of each page. Another addition is a Panoramic View of the whole Bible to show the unity of the book. But the improvements are not only on the literary but also on the

mechanical side. The page is more distinct, Arabic numerals are substituted for Roman, and the whole appearance of the book is much neater. There are fifteen maps at the end of the book as a geographical guide.

Old Testament Legends. Being stories out of some of the less-known apocryphal books of the Old Testament. By M. R. JAMES, Litt.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge. With ten illustrations by H. J. FORD. London: LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 1913. pp. xxv + 157.

Readings from the Old Testament. Selections from the English Bible for reading in home and school and for supplementary work in the class-room in reading and English. Arranged and edited by LOUISE EMERY TUCKER, M.A. New York: STURGIS & WALTON COMPANY, 1913. pp. vi + 260.

Through the Bible Day by Day. A Devotional Commentary. By Rev. F. B. MEYER, B.A. Arranged for Daily Reading with Introduction, Outline and Review Questions for each Book. By JAMES McCONAUGHY, Managing Editor American Sunday-School Union. Illustrated from Paintings by Leading Modern Artists. Volume I: Genesis to Joshua. Philadelphia: AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION, [1914]. pp. 218.

The legends, told in a simple narrative style, are gripping in interest. The first two stories from the *Book of Adam and Eve* deal with the adventures of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. The third gives some phantastic experiences of Abraham as related in the *Apocalypse* and *Testament of Abraham*. Then follows a delightful narrative about the romantic exploits of Aseneth and Joseph, derived from the Greek *History of Aseneth*. The story about Job is taken from the *Testament of Job*. The exploits of Solomon and the Demons come from the *Testament of Solomon*. *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* deals with Ebedmelech the Ethiopian and the death of Jeremiah. The well-known Ahikar legend winds up the collection. The drawings by Mr. Ford are well executed, and serve to illuminate the text in a high degree.

The object of the Readings is to furnish to the children 'an insight into the myriad beauties of the Book of Books'. This is done by selecting from the great mass of the biblical text such stories, poems, nature descriptions, character studies, &c., as are apt most strongly to appeal to the young imaginative mind. The text used is that of the Revised Version, except in Psalms and other poetical portions where the verse arrangement of the Modern Readers' Bible (edited by Prof. Richard G. Moulton) is adopted. A further object of the book is to promote the study of simple yet forceful English among the young generation, and hence the author advises to use this volume in connexion with *The Old Testament Phrase Book*.

Mr. Meyer's homiletic commentary is arranged in small portions for daily reading in consecutive order. Points of merely scholarly interest are omitted. There are frequent references to other parts of the Scriptures, especially from the Old to the New Testament. When completed for the whole Bible this will form a good little text-book for Christian homes as well as Christian Sunday-schools.

The Books of the Pentateuch. Their Origin, Contents, and Significance. By FREDERICK CARL EISELEN, Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in Garrett Biblical Institute (Biblical Introduction Series). New York: THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN, [1916]. pp. 351.

Worte Mosis. Herausgegeben von Dr. HUGO BERGMANN. (*Die Weisheit der Völker.*) Minden i. W.: I. C. C. BRUNS, [1913]. pp. vi + 234.

Though Bible introductions abound, there is need for just such a volume as Professor Eiselen offers here. Its *raison d'être* lies in the fact that it constitutes a special introduction to the Pentateuch, comprehensive and scholarly, and yet written in a popular language and style, so as to satisfy the average student of the Bible. Of course, originality is not claimed, and the only novel features are the mode of treatment and arrangement of

material. Naturally, the author clings to the documentary hypothesis, but he is fair enough to state in great detail also the traditional view, to which he devotes four full chapters. It is this feature that is bound to enhance the value of the book, especially in the face of the one-sidedness of many other introductions. Furthermore, the argument is clear and moderate, couched in ordinary terms, and not overburdened with irrelevant material. Some might have wished a little more thoroughness in the style of Holzinger's *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, but, as the author emphasizes, he is writing for students and not for scholars. That the book is up-to-date and abreast with the latest currents in Bible criticism is manifested by the fact that it takes cognizance of the new school of textual critics headed by Dahse, Eerdmans, Wiener, and Troelstra. This and other interesting features, such as a history of Old Testament Introduction at the beginning and the historical and religious value of the Pentateuch at the end, make this a useful manual for colleges and seminaries. In conclusion, it might be stated that this is the first in a series of four volumes introductory to the Old Testament. The second will deal with the Prophets, the third with the Writings (Kethubim), and the fourth with the formation of the Old Testament Canon, the condition and transmission of the Hebrew text, the place of the Old Testament in the light of modern criticism, &c.

Dr. Bergmann's book is literary rather than critical. Its object is to exhibit Moses not merely as a law-giver but also as a man of great words and wise sayings. An introduction depicts first the life of Moses, then the various theories about the Pentateuch. The 'Words of Moses' are well-chosen excerpts from the five books, both poetical and narrative. Curiously enough, the editor includes here the nineteenth psalm ascribed to Moses. His reason is given in the introduction: it is not what Moses actually said or did that counts, but what people think he said or did, as Ahad Haam, in his profound essay on Moses, puts it: an archaeological truth does not necessarily mean an historical truth. The book is well printed, and has a neat appearance. A photographic reproduction of Michelangelo's

Moses adorns the frontispiece. An appendix contains a bibliography, and this is followed by an index.

Genesis. Übersetzt und erklärt von P. CESLAUS DIER, O.P.,
Magister der Theologie. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von
FERDINAND SCHÖNINGH, 1914. pp. iii + 386.

Israel's Account of the Beginnings, contained in Genesis i-xi. By
WALTER M. PATTON, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical
Literature and History of Religion in Carleton College,
Northfield, Minn. Boston: THE PILGRIM PRESS, [1916].
pp. xii + 182.

*The First Chapter of Genesis as the Rock Foundation for Science
and Religion.* By ALBERT L. GRIDLEY, A.M. Boston:
RICHARD G. BADGER (The Gorham Press), [1913]. pp. 216.

There is an insuperable hiatus between Dier's work and, for instance, Gunkel's vast and erudite commentary on Genesis. Yet it is above the ordinary level, and even smacks of modernism and progressivism. *E pur si muove*. Though bearing the imprimatur of the Catholic authorities, it lays the original Hebrew as the basis for comment instead of the Greek of the Septuagint or the Latin of the Vulgate. The author, it is true, is compelled to offer an apology for this breach of august Catholic tradition, and to state distinctly that his departure should not be construed as an infringement of the Tridentine decree. Be this as it may, his departure is certainly in the right direction. Moreover, he adopts the documentary hypothesis of the Higher Critics, until recently tabooed among Catholic commentators, emphasizing all the while that by doing this he does not depart from the teachings of the Catholic Church. Indeed, while recognizing various sources in Genesis, he still clings to the decision of the Bible Commission of June 27, 1906, according to which the Pentateuch was composed by Moses. To the conservative mind, it seems, there is no palpable incongruity in this apparent contradiction. The days are gone when the documentary theory was looked upon as destructive and undermining the faith. More and more the view asserts itself that a moderate criticism not only does not harm

but even helps religion in its historical perspective. Of course, there is a limit to criticism, and extremes are dangerous. The Church, and for that matter the Synagogue, will never brook the exaggerated views and sensational deductions of the Pan-Babylonians, whose cyclopean learning, to borrow a phrase from Kant, lacks one eye. The comments add nothing new and original. They are based chiefly on Catholic authorities and, in a subsidiary degree, on other sources. The Church Fathers, as might have been expected, are quoted *in extenso*. Gunkel and his congeners are referred to here and there, but mostly for refutation. Unfortunately, the author does not operate with the proper tools, and in the end he fails to bend the bow of Ulysses. It is also unfortunate that the Hebrew quotations teem with mistakes, both consonantal and vocal, and evince utter carelessness on the part of the author. What is the use of basing a commentary on the Hebrew original and then presenting this Hebrew in a disfigured and distorted shape?

Dr. Patton's volume is an instance of specialization, or rather atomization, applied to the science of exegesis. The problem of Genesis, owing to literary criticism and comparative research, has grown to such vast proportions (comp. the voluminous commentary by Gunkel) that it becomes necessary to break the book up into parts and treat each section separately. This process has its merits, not the least of which is the encouragement given to the bewildered student to grasp one thing at a time. Undoubtedly this was the motive that prompted Professor Patton to deal only with a small section of Genesis, especially since the volume was expressly written for college students. As a text-book for schools and colleges it is well planned and properly arranged. Instead of a literal translation a paraphrase of the text has been used, and free comment on the story has been employed to draw out the implications of the writer's narrative. In the notes at the end of each chapter literary and textual matters are treated more minutely. The manner of treatment is literary-historical, and conforms strictly to modern biblical criticism. The priestly writer's story and the Jahwist's account are given separate con-

sideration. The introduction deals with general matters pertaining to Genesis, such as sources, character of the history, epochs of the history, the world of Israel, the land of Israel, and, last but not least, the literary character of the Hexateuch. Towards the end there is a summary of the teachings of Genesis i-xi. An appendix contains the Babylonian Epic of Creation and the Babylonian Deluge Myth. Not the least of its merits is the fact that it is well indexed. All in all it is an admirable little volume for schools and colleges, though, as the author modestly admits, originality has been no part of the essential aim. It is to be hoped that the author will soon be able to publish other instalments of this series.

Mr. Gridley confines himself to the story of creation in the first chapter of Genesis. The title hardly expresses the primary aim and purpose of the book. The author, it is true, states in the foreword that his object is to point out the reconciliation and harmonization of religion and science, but back of all this is his desire to attack the bogey of Higher Criticism and to reaffirm the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. Indeed, his demonstration concerning the agreement of Genesis i with modern science occupies only the minor part of the book, while the greater part is devoted to commonplace arguments about the fall of man, redemption, salvation, and similar articles of Christian theology. The first four chapters constitute a well-meant attempt to prove the biblical cosmogony to be in harmony with all the advances in astronomical science for the last hundred years; also that the biogenesis in the Bible absolutely corresponds with the records in the rocks or the geological strata. But, while operating with scientific terminology, the treatment is not strictly scientific and exact. Authorities are quoted *in extenso*, but *sine loco*, and altogether the scientific element is overshadowed by the theological, which fills up the rest of the book. The pith of the argument is contained in 'The Bible as an Authority to be Obeyed' and 'The Reasonableness of the Christian's Faith'. The author also gives his own experience of God's presence and guidance.

The Divine Names in Genesis. By the Rev. JOHN SKINNER, M.A., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, Westminster College, Cambridge. London: HODDER & STOUGHTON, [1914]. pp. viii + 303.

Dahse's bold challenge to the Higher Critics in his *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage* (1912) was answered variously by many critics, among them Sellin, Gressmann, and König, but by none so forcibly and clearly as by Professor Skinner in the present volume, which is the outgrowth of a series of articles in the *Expositor* for 1913. It should be prefaced that the contention is between the higher or literary and lower or textual criticism of the Pentateuch. The former's champions are legion, the latter's a mere handful, struggling to gain ground. But though their progress is very slow, nevertheless they are forging ahead little by little: from the timid attempts of Klostermann and Lepsius to the definite *pronunciamiento* of Dahse and Wiener there is quite a hiatus. Their position, in a nutshell, is that the documentary hypothesis, presumably based on the classification of divine names, is groundless and untenable because it hinges on the assumption that the theophorus names in the Pentateuch had been preserved in their original form, an assumption which is not borne out by a careful study and investigation of these names. The degree of corruption in the *textus receptus* of the Hebrew Scriptures is, according to them, much greater than is generally supposed, and hence this text cannot be used as a criterion for the division of sources. It will be seen from this that their advantage increases with the diminution of trustworthiness in the Masoretic text, and hence Dahse goes to great lengths in searching for discrepancies between the divine names in the Hebrew original and their equivalents in the various recensions and versions.

Skinner, in his refutation, maintains that (1) the documentary theory is based on many other criteria besides that of the divine names, and it is only when taken together that they furnish us Ariadne's thread leading through the labyrinth and the *mixtum compositum* of the Hexateuch; (2) generally speaking, the

Masoretic text, with all its shortcomings and acknowledged discrepancies, is more reliable and trustworthy than any version or translation, the hoary Septuagint included; (3) before we undertake to compare the Masoretic text with that of the Septuagint, the latter ought to be established beyond any reasonable doubt, which is not the case at the present time. To prove these assertions the author discusses minutely the fundamental passage in Exod. 6. 2, 3; the problem of the priestly code; the various recensions of the Septuagint; the Hebrew text and its Samaritan counterpart; other ancient versions, and the limits of textual uncertainty. His deductions are crystallized in the following highly interesting passage which, because of its intrinsic value and important bearing on the Masoretic text, deserves to be quoted in full (p. 165 f.):

‘On general grounds, the MT has substantial claims to be preferred to a variant of the LXX in all doubtful cases. (a) The MT is the result of successive transcriptions in one and the same language; the LXX is a translation from one language into another. It is not denied that a version may represent a purer text than a recension in the original language; but in the absence of proof that this is the case, the presumption is all in favour of the original, because it is not subject to the uncertainty which inevitably attends the mental process of translation; especially when, as is abundantly clear in the case of the LXX, word-for-word translation was not aimed at. (b) The MT is the lineal descendant of the official Palestinian recension of the OT; the LXX represents at best an Alexandrian recension whose text was certainly not transmitted with the same scrupulous fidelity as that of Palestine. For (c) as regards the divine names, the Samaritan Pentateuch shows that the Palestinian text has undergone practically no change from a time prior to (or at all events not much later than) the separation of the Palestinian and Egyptian recensions. The LXX text, on the contrary, has been in a state of perpetual flux as far back as its history can be traced. It makes no difference whether this be due to accident or (as Dahse has tried to show) to deliberate revision; on either view the fact

remains that the names of God have been handled with a freedom which was not allowed to Jewish scribes. (d) While the LXX contains particular readings which are shown by internal evidence to be superior to the Hebrew, yet an examination of its general text proves that on the whole it is inferior to the Masoretic Hebrew. I do not think that this will be disputed by any competent Old Testament scholar. The MT is often emended from the LXX, but practically never except for some superiority, real or supposed, attaching to the reading presupposed by LXX in particular cases. (e) The liability to error is far greater in Greek than in Hebrew. In the original text we have the distinction, not easily overlooked, between a proper name יהוה and a generic name אלהים. In Greek we have only the difference of two appellatives κύριος and θεός (often contracted in MSS. to κς and θς), a difference without much significance to a Greek-speaking writer, and therefore apt to be effaced through the natural predilection for θεός.⁷

Skinner devotes a special chapter to Dahse's quasi-constructive Pericope hypothesis showing it to be artificial and groundless. In this he is probably right. 'A Synagogue lectionary with the arbitrary characteristics and peculiar features painted by Dahse could hardly ever have existed in practice. Moreover, Dahse's process of reconstruction, assuming one or two prophetic redactors, a liturgical editor, and then again a theological editor, is hardly an improvement on the multiple Js, Es, Ds, and Ps of the documentary theory. The truth of the matter is that the textual critics are going to extremes on a par with the higher critics. Or else what is the meaning of Professor Schlögl of Vienna in proposing to change every Jahwe in Genesis to Elohim? (*Expository Times* for September, 1909). On the other hand, whatever strength Dahse has lies on the negative or destructive side, in his attempt to impugn the Masoretic text by pointing out some discrepancies between it and the Septuagint. Here Skinner does not always meet him squarely, and as a result his argument fails to convince. Skinner's weakness is also shown in other respects, though very rarely. It is certainly inconsistent

to argue against Dahse's manner of construing the divine names as the sole arbiters of the documentary hypothesis, and at the same time to believe that Symmachus's translation of the Bible is only a revision of that of Aquila, simply because the two agree in the rendering of divine names in Genesis (p. 153, note). This is the more strange since Skinner knows very well that of these minor translations we possess only a few fragments, hardly enough to judge by in such an important matter.

It must be admitted, however, that Skinner is an able fencer, though he fails to demolish his opponent completely. He certainly does not effect a *reductio ad absurdum*, which he would have liked to do. Like a sensible man he realizes that there is a modicum of truth also on the other side, but its real size cannot yet be gauged. Hence his moderation and studied attempt at fairness. It is certainly a credit to the author to have preserved a calm and unimpassioned attitude throughout the book, especially in the face of the somewhat provocative demeanour of his opponents. Not less in his favour are his lucidity of argument and fluidity of diction, which are rarely matched among his opponents. It seems that Skinner has inherited that crystalline and transparent style for which Driver was so beloved and to which few scholars ever attain. To popularize such an abstruse and adumbrated subject as Pentateuchal criticism is an art with which few are gifted. But this is what Skinner has accomplished. Under his magic pen the obscure becomes illuminated and the enigmatic solved, with the result that the volume, in spite of the intricacy and elusiveness of the subject, forms agreeable reading.

The Beacon Lights of Prophecy. An Interpretation of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah. By ALBERT C. KNUDSON, Professor in Boston University School of Theology. New York: EATON & MAINS, [1914]. pp. xii + 281.

The Second Book of Kings. By G. H. BOX, M.A., Lecturer in Rabbinical Hebrew, King's College, London (The Revised

Version edited for the Use of Schools). Cambridge: at the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1914. pp. xv + 157.

The Book of Jonah. A Study of Biblical Purpose and Method. By the Rev. T. H. DODSON, M.A., Rector of Wootton, Northampton, and Canon of Lincoln. London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1916. pp. 84.

Patience. An Alliterative Version of *Jonah* by the Poet of *Pearl*. (*Select Early English Poems.* Edited by Prof. I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D., F.B.A., King's College, London; Honorary Director of the Early English Text Society.) London: HUMPHREY MILFORD (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS), 1913. [41 leaves and 3 plates.]

The Man among the Myrtles. A Study in Zechariah's Visions. By the Editor (The Short Course Series edited by Rev. JOHN ADAMS, B.D.). New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1913. pp. viii + 142.

The Divine Drama of Job. By CHARLES F. AKED, D.D. (The Short Course Series edited by Rev. JOHN ADAMS, B.D.). New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1913. pp. viii + 144.

The aim of Professor Knudson is to give a vital interpretation of the prophetic movement, and especially its six greatest literary representatives. He does this in the form of semi-popular lectures intended primarily for the preacher and layman, not the professional biblical scholar. Hence questions of literary criticism are eliminated, though the main conclusions of modern biblical scholarship are assumed. Noteworthy are his views concerning the history and nature of prophecy dealt with in the opening chapter. He believes, in the first place, that prophecy with the Hebrews was an indigenous rather than an exotic product, being literary and quasi-rational rather than ecstatic and sensational like that of the surrounding Canaanites. If we want to establish any relation at all, the author thinks it must be with Greek philosophy. In the second place, the author insists that eschatology preceded literary prophecy instead of the reverse, and hence there is no reason why the Messianic passages should

be eliminated from the writings of the pre-exilic prophets. The treatment is quite interesting, the main characteristics of each prophet being illuminated briefly and concisely through a running commentary on his most important statements.

The aim of the Cambridge Bible for Schools, as A. H. McNeile, the general editor for the Old Testament, puts it in the preface, is to explain the Revised Version for young students, and at the same time to present, in a simple form, the main results of the best scholarship of the day. This aim has been attained by Professor Box, as by those preceding him in the series. Within a very small compass the gist of accumulated research is presented in a plain yet attractive style. A short introduction deals with authorship, date, sources, and chronology. A map of Palestine is appended at the end.

Mr. Dodson's Jonah hardly deserves much consideration. As is well known, Jonah has been interpreted allegorically in various ways: he typified in turn recalcitrant and repenting Israel, the missionary Christian Church, and even the entombed and resurrected Jesus. Canon Dodson's exposition falls in with the Old Catholic conception of Jonah as a bigoted Jew, unwilling to testify to a Gentile city, and angry that God had spared it.

The poem 'Patience' is derived from a vellum manuscript in the Cottonian collection of the British Museum, and is an English product of the close of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. The author is unknown. The place of composition is the north-west Midland. It was published first in 1864, and again in 1869, by the Early English Text Society. The present edition is more elaborate. The poem consists of a prologue on the virtue of patience, four chapters containing the Jonah narrative, and a brief epilogue. Two crude drawings accompany the text: in one Jonah is thrown into the whale, in the other he is preaching to the people of Nineveh. Curiously enough, in both he looks the typical mediaeval Jew. It is interesting that the poem is patterned after the Vulgate. For

the purpose of comparison the editor appends the Vulgate text of Jonah with Wycliff's version opposite it. Similarly, for the elaborate description of the storm at sea a parallel is adduced in the appendix—the Latin poem 'De Jona et Nineve,' formerly attributed to Tertullian. The editor's preface is illuminating, his notes are full of erudition. The glossary is helpful to an understanding of the difficult idiom.

The Short Course Series is designed primarily for ministers and preachers, and secondarily for laymen and Sabbath-school teachers who are interested in a scholarly but also practical exposition of Bible history and doctrine. As the title implies, brevity is the soul of the undertaking, the aim being to depict the most essential points of a subject in a series of connected studies. The Bible commentaries in the series are homiletic in character; at the same time they are based on sound biblical criticism, following the latest authorities in this field of research. Mr. Adams's volume discusses only the first six chapters of Zechariah containing the visions, leaving the other chapters no doubt for a future volume. Dr. Aked's book comprises the whole of Job, and is admirably arranged and treated, as may be seen from these headings: the Insurrection of Doubt, the Restoration of Faith, Satan in Literature and in Life, Eliphaz the Seer, Bildad the Sage, Zophar the Ordinary Soul, the Intervention of Elihu, the Speeches of Jehovah. Both volumes are followed by an appendix containing a short bibliography for further study.

Songs of the Jewish Church. An Introduction to the Study of the Psalms. By JAMES T. PINFOLD, M.A., B.D. London: CHARLES H. KELLY, [1913]. pp. 223.

The Titles of the Psalms. Their Nature and Meaning explained. By JAMES WILLIAM THIRTLE, LL.D., D.D. Popular edition. London: MORGAN & SCOTT LTD., 1916. pp. viii + 386.

The Songs, Hymns, and Prayers of the Old Testament. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Litt.D., Woolsey Professor

of Biblical Literature in Yale University (The Student's Old Testament). New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1914. pp. xxi + 305.

Die Psalmen Israels nach dem Versmass der Urschrift verdeutscht von D. RUD. KITTEL, Professor in Leipzig. Leipzig: A. DEICHERTSCHER VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG, 1915. pp. viii + 217.

Die schönsten Psalmen. Uebertragen und erläutert von KARL BUDDE. Leipzig: C. F. AMELANGS VERLAG, [1915]. pp. 125.

Erklärung der Psalmen und Cantica in ihrer liturgischen Verwendung, von PRINZ MAX, HERZOG ZU SACHSEN, Dr. theol. et jur. utr. Regensburg und Rom: Druck und Verlag von FRIEDRICH PUSTET, 1914. pp. 528.

The Responsive Psalter, containing the Psalms set to chant-forms in accordance with the Parallelisms of Hebrew Poetry, and designed to conduce to a natural and expressive rendering of the words on the part of both the choir and congregation. By Rev. JAMES ECKERSLEY, M.A., Eltham, Kent. London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO. LTD., 1913. pp. xxxii + 296.

The Hymn Book of the Ages. Being the Book of Psalms with a short commentary. By S. B. MACY. London: LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 1913. pp. viii + 659.

The Psalter and the Life of Prayer. By ANNIE H. SMALL. London and Edinburgh: T. N. FOULIS, 1914. pp. xviii + 158.

Mr. Pinfold deals with the nature, the authorship, the dates, the compilation, the poetry, the music, and the titles of the Psalms. Further chapters are devoted to the conception of deity, ideas about man, sin and its consequences, personal religion, views concerning future life, imprecatory and messianic psalms, and the Christian use of the Psalter. There is nothing original in all this. The treatment is quite popular, being intended for Bible students and Christian pastors. The fluent style and the almost complete elimination of foot-notes make it attractive even to the layman. As a special and detailed introduction it is quite desirable, and

its usefulness is further enhanced by the fact that it takes cognizance of modern criticism.

Dr. Thirtle's volume on the titles of the Psalms experienced two successive editions in 1904 and 1905. The new issue is essentially the same. Its purpose was to expound a new theory with reference to the enigmatic titles of the psalms, viz. that the present superscripts are really postscripts belonging to the preceding psalms (in accordance with Hab. 3), a circumstance which, in the mind of the author, seemed to unravel the knot and solve the difficulties of the Psalter. Furthermore, through fanciful interpretations of difficult terms such as *שושנים ערות*, *שושנים* and *נחית*, he endeavoured to divide the Psalter according to seasons. Incidentally, he argued for the antiquity of the Psalms against the school of modern criticism. Needless to say, his argument, though plausible, was not convincing, especially in its philological phase. And this impression still lingers to-day. He certainly accounts for some difficulties, as in the case of Ps. 88 with its double title, but in the great majority of cases he appears to juggle with words and fails to convince the reader. The lengthy exposition of his thesis is followed by the text of Psalms in the Revised Version, arranged in his novel way.

Professor Kent is editing the Old Testament for students in an English translation, and in a logical and chronological arrangement. The present volume contains all the lyrical elements, classified according to their content and dominant motive, and arranged as far as possible in the order in which they were written. The translation, though leaning on the English versions, is quite independent, and aims to reproduce the measured beat and the strophic rhythm of the original Hebrew. There are brief summaries on the margin, and copious notes, both critical and explanatory, at the bottom. The latter include references to variants in ancient versions. The author adopts emendations in the text, but fails to give references to their originators or state the departure from the Masoretic text (such is, e. g., the invocation in David's Lament over Saul and

Jonathan, p. 71). His attitude towards the Hebrew metre is sound, refusing to treat the lyrics in accordance with a theoretical strophic structure which involves a sacrifice and curtailment of the time-hallowed text. The Introduction deals with the general characteristics and different types of Hebrew poetry, the structure and authorship of the Book of Lamentations, the origin and interpretation of the Song of Songs, the music and song in Temple service, the literary and historical background of the Psalter, the structure and history of the Psalter. It is a painstaking piece of work, and will prove of great benefit to the English student for whom it is intended.

Kittel's metrical version of the Psalms is practically a reprint from his larger work containing a translation and commentary for the learned world (*Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1914, constituting part of the series *Kommentar zum Alten Testament* edited by Professor Ernst Sellin). Even the preface quotes the other work as to the manner of translation. Kittel's object was to adhere to Luther's version as closely as possible, and at the same time to reproduce the peculiarities of the Hebrew metre in the German rendering. It is a difficult task which only a man with a sound and intimate knowledge of both idioms can accomplish, and, of course, Kittel possesses both. The text is carefully printed and well arranged. For proper orientation the superscriptions and other extraneous titles introduced by editors are given in bold-face type, while the text is in italics. In addition, every psalm bears a title in Roman type indicating the subject-matter. The beauty of the volume is enhanced by photographic reproductions of musical scenes and drawings of instruments from Oriental antiquity.

Budde's 'Most Beautiful Psalms' is a product of our period of storm and stress. While the soldiers in the field are provided with abridged Prayer Books and tiny Bibles to guide them in their communion with the God of Hosts, the people at home are furnished with an abridged Psalter which will help to comfort them in their distress. Indeed, the psalms have been chosen

with a view to the present situation (comp. Ps. 11 and 12), and the learned editor, however objective he may have wished to be, even alludes to the war occasionally. In a book like this the main point is the choice to be made, and a man like Budde may be relied upon to know how to make it. He culled the finest specimens of faith and resignation, of penitence and supplication. Some other psalms might have been included but for the fact that the editor was limited to the round number fifty. We miss very much such a sterling and ringing outcry as Ps. 22, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' The chosen psalms are given in a new elegant German rendering, which is truly poetical though simple. The translation adheres to the Hebrew, preserving even the spirit of the Hebrew metre. Of course, here and there, in difficult passages, emendations are introduced to make possible a popular rendering. The puzzling titles, as might have been expected, are omitted. Critical explanations are offered at the end of the book. A brief but learned introduction gives the most essential information about the origin, constitution, and literary make-up of the Psalter.

The commentary to the Psalms and other songs of the Bible by Prinz Max is for practical, liturgical purposes, and was first delivered in the form of lectures at the Seminary of the Archbishop of Cologne. It takes the text of the Roman Catholic breviary as a basis, and adheres as closely as possible to the hermeneutics of the Catholic Church. The exposition is homiletic in character, and leans very much on the Church Fathers. Considerable space is devoted to the various uses and employments of each psalm in the liturgy. Among the Cantica we find the first song of Moses (Exod. 15. 1-19), the song of Moses from Deuteronomy (32. 1-43), Hannah's song of thanksgiving (1 Sam. 2. 1-10), David's prayer (1 Chron. 29. 10-13), Isaiah's song of praise (12. 1-6), Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving (Isa. 38. 10-20), Habakkuk's psalm (3. 2-19), the song of praise of Tobit (13. 1-10), of the three youths in the apocryphal parts of Daniel, and others.

Ever since the memorable days of the Oxford Movement attempts have been made to revive the ancient Gregorian modes, and to restore the Church chant to its pristine simplicity. As an antidote to the centuries-old secularization of religious music the pure primitive chant was to be resuscitated and rejuvenated in all its glory and stately movement, such as accompanied the Nazarene faith on its triumphal march throughout the world. The point of greatest emphasis was that the melos must follow the logos, and not *vice versa* as was the case heretofore. To this end, church composers proceeded to recast many chants and, above all, to create a new frame for the perennial and universal psalms. Many Psalters resulted, each one differing in the conception of melody and the arrangement of material. The present Psalter by Rev. Eckersley is along the same lines, only it emphasizes the application of melodic parallelisms to the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry. The composer advocates Aquilean literalism in translating the psalms into the musical idiom. Every mood and nuance in the text must be expressed correspondingly in the melody. But this can hardly be done with primitive modes and scales of a limited range, such as he operates with. It is the secular chromatic scales that lend themselves best to mood painting. Hence the chants in this Psalter are extremely monotonous, and lack any striking features. As regards the form they are bipartite (theme, counter-theme), and, where the psalms are longer, tripartite (theme, counter-theme, theme). In fairness to the composer it must be stated that he does not insist on the adoption of these melodies: he only wants to emphasize the principle of literal rendering, and as to the melodies, they can be varied to suit the individual taste.

Miss Macy presents the Prayer Book version of the psalms accompanied by a devotional commentary. The arrangement is by chapters, each chapter being treated as an entity. First comes the whole text of a chapter, then follows general comment with Christian applications, and finally comes an ancient prayer resembling the text in its phraseology. In the Introduction the

author contradicts the statements of the Higher Critics as to the late date of some psalms.

Miss Small likewise deals with the Psalter as the fountainhead of prayer and devotion. A preface contains observations on the discipline and some discoveries of the life of prayer. Then follow the psalms, sixty-three in all, chosen with a view to devotion and prayer. The text is that of the short-lived Genevan Psalter, with certain editorial modifications to suit the modern taste. The whole is cast into stanzas. Marginal notes indicate the devotional use and the Psalmist's method. Albrecht Dürer's well-known drawing, 'The Praying Hands,' serves as a frontispiece.

The Poem of Job. Translated in the metre of the Original by EDW. G. KING, D.D., Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1914. pp. xii + 116.

Kohleleth. A Metrical Paraphrase of the Canonical Book of Ecclesiastes. By GEORGE ROE. With an Introduction and many notes comparing the philosophy of Kohleleth, the Hebrew, with that of Omar Khayyam, the astronomer-poet of Persia. New York: DODGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, [1912]. pp. 83.

Dr. King's *Job* is a metrical translation in conformity with the principle of accented syllables enunciated in his *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews* (Cambridge, 1911). Following this principle, and in order to get only three accented syllables in a line, the author is compelled to introduce many emendations of the Hebrew text, for which he draws mostly upon Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. He is not quite felicitous in his independent emendations. Thus his rendering of 39. 29, 'Doth the griffon mount up at thy telling? Or the vulture make nest on high?' may be quite admirable metrically, but it is based on an emendation of וְכִי to דִּיה, which is anything but convincing: orthographically the one could not be changed into the other, and grammatically the fem. דִּיה could not be the subject of יָרִים קָנוּ. This is another illustration of what mischief scholars

are prone to commit in the name of metre. The author further commits the mistake, common to many critics, of declaring as a gloss whatever does not fit in the narrow confines of his scheme. As an instance, he singles out as a gloss the fine passage 7. 4-5 just because it is still obscure and does not suit his scheme. Otherwise the book is an earnest attempt to smooth down the rough and rugged style of the Hebrew, and to couch it in a good and clear English. The notes are particularly interesting where they call into comparison the great masterpieces of Occidental literature. Of still greater value would be a comparison with the great works of the Orient, notably with the classic poetry of the Arabs. This, I am convinced, would clear up many difficulties which now appear insurmountable.

Mr. Roe's paraphrase of Ecclesiastes in rhymed quatrains was written as a companion to his translation of the *Ruba'iyat* of Omar Khayyam. As a piece of poetry it reads well, but the original Kohemoth is hardly recognizable in the paraphrase. Whole passages and sections are omitted because they appeared difficult to the translator. The comparison of the philosophy of Kohemoth with that of Omar Khayyam in the foreword is too brief and superficial to form a real contribution on the subject.

The Assumption of Moses. Translated by WILLIAM JOHN FERRAR, M.A. With Introduction and Notes. (*Translations of Early Documents.* Series I: Palestinian Jewish Texts.) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1917. pp. 42.

The Apocalypse of Baruch. By the Rev. Canon R. H. CHARLES, D.D. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (*Translations of Early Documents.* Series I: Palestinian Jewish Texts.) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1917. pp. 96.

The Apocalypse of Ezra (2 Esdras 3-14). Translated from the Syriac text, with brief annotations. By G. H. BOX, M.A. (*Translations of Early Documents.* Series I: Palestinian
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Jewish Texts.) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1917. pp. 115.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. By R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (*Translations of Early Documents. Series I: Palestinian Jewish Texts.*) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1917. pp. 108.

The Book of Enoch. By R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (*Translations of Early Documents. Series I: Palestinian Jewish Texts.*) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1917. pp. 154.

The Wisdom of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus). By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (*Translations of Early Documents. Series I: Palestinian Jewish Texts.*) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1916. pp. 148.

The Wisdom of Solomon. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (*Translations of Early Documents. Series II: Hellenistic Jewish Texts.*) London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, 1917. pp. 94.

It is planned by the editors, W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, to issue three series of post-biblical writings: the first comprising Palestinian-Jewish and cognate texts of the pre-Rabbinic period; the second embracing Hellenistic-Jewish texts; the third containing Palestinian-Jewish and cognate texts of Rabbinic times. The scheme includes therefore the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, selections from Philo and Josephus, some Mishnic tractates, and also some mediaeval commentaries to the Bible. The object of these series, as stated by the editors in their preface, is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which will facilitate the study of the particular texts in the classroom under competent teachers. Hence the scarcity of notes and comments, and the restriction in size. So far these works, with few exceptions, were available only in elaborate and expensive editions, and since their importance is only second to the Bible

itself, it was deemed advisable to edit them in a popular guise. The translations of the apocryphal texts are for the most part on the same lines as those in Charles's splendid edition of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Oxford, 1913). Those by Charles himself were taken over *verbatim* from the larger edition, the editor only writing an introduction to them. The main difficulty must have been to circumscribe the notes in a way to make the texts attractive alike to the student and layman. The same discretion had to be used with reference to the introductions, which deal with every phase of the book, but in a succinct and compact way. They comprise the headings: title, authorship, date, language, contents, bibliography, and, as an aftermath, importance of the book for the study of Christian origins, without which no such Christian undertaking would be complete. However that may be, the editors deserve praise for this neat and popular edition, which is a desideratum. It is not too much to expect that henceforth a greater number of people may delve into this interesting branch of ancient Jewish literature.

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RECENT ARABIC LITERATURE

The Mystics of Islam. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M.A.,
Litt. D., Hon. LL.D., Lecturer in Persian in the University
of Cambridge. London: G. BELL AND SONS, 1914.
pp. vii + 178.

ALTHOUGH mysticism in its wider sense is nothing more than a pantheistic faith, each religion has produced a mystic system of its own which bears its specific impress. Mystics all the world over are of kindred temperament, but their doctrines are necessarily influenced by race and religion. The general outlines of Kabbalah, Sufism, and Christian mysticism are practically identical, but in the details there are essential differences. The Jewish mystic has the Bible as the centre of his independent speculations, while his Mohammedan brother never loses sight of the Koran. Even in cases where the terms are apparently identical there are different shades of meaning when employed by the mystics of the various religions. As Dr. Nicholson rightly observes, *فناء* of the Sufi and *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddhist, though the terms are synonymous signifying *the passing away of individuality*, have different connotations. For 'while *Nirvāṇa* is purely negative, *fanā* is accompanied by *baqā*, everlasting life in God' (p. 18). It is thus obvious that the study of Sufism is of vast importance for comparative religion and the various phases of human thought. But the material for a comprehensive and exhaustive study of this subject is almost inaccessible, as by far the greater part of the immense literature in Arabic and Persian is still unpublished. This, however, offered no serious difficulty in the preparation of the present volume, which, in accordance with the plan of the *Quest Series*, is designed to give the general outlines of mystic thought in Islam. Dr. Nicholson has admirably acquitted himself of his task, and produced a delightful little book, which is of value

to the layman as well as to the scholar. While various monographs on Sufism have appeared from time to time by some of the foremost exponents of Islam, this book bears the mark of original research, and contains material which has hitherto been inaccessible to students. The author tells us that he has drawn upon material collected by him for the last twenty years, and every paragraph bears testimony to his erudition and insight. In addition to that, the various doctrines are presented in a pleasant and popular form, and this in itself is an achievement when dealing with an abstruse subject.

As to the origin of the name 'Sufi', the Arabs and Persians themselves seem to have lost sight of it long ago, and offered numerous explanations, one more fanciful than the other. In his introduction Dr. Nicholson rejects them all, and rightly adopts the view of Nöldeke who derives the word *Sufi* from *ṣuf* (wool), the early Muslim ascetics having, in imitation of the Christian hermits, clad themselves in coarse woollen garments. (See also Freytag's *Lexicon*, s. v.) Considerable space is also devoted to the influence exerted over Sufism by Christianity, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, and Buddhism. Historical evidence points to Buddhism as having more in common with Sufism than any other faith or doctrine. This is especially the case with the Persian mystics, for prior to the Mohammedan conquest of India there had been flourishing Buddhist monasteries in Balkh. Nevertheless there are fundamental differences between the Sufi and the Buddhist. As Dr. Nicholson aptly and pithily puts it, 'The Buddhist moralizes himself, the Sufi becomes moral only through knowing and loving God' (p. 17). Strange as it may seem at first sight, Jewish mysticism, while having many points of contact with Sufism, exerted no direct influence over it. Mohammed, as is well known, borrowed freely from Judaism, and Geiger's *Was hat Muhammed von dem Judenthum aufgenommen?* is by no means exhaustive, although Mittwoch's *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* overstates the case. But in the early centuries of Mohammedan supremacy, which set the Oriental mind ablaze, the process of influence was reversed, and

the Jews assimilated Arab culture, representing a happy blending of the products of various races, to their advantage. One need merely refer to the brilliant Spanish epoch, which produced the science of biblical philology in all its ramifications, Jewish philosophy, and Neo-Hebrew poetry, to be convinced of the debt Jews, if not Judaism, owe to the Muslim world. It is possible that Jewish mysticism of the later period did not escape that influence, but the comparative study of Kabbalah is not as yet even in its infancy, and nothing definite can be asserted. A good many of the mystic poems of Ibn Gabirol and Ibn Ezra have their Muslim parallels, and the latter consciously imitated Ibn Sina's *Risalat Hai b. Yaḳẓān*. At the same time it is to be pointed out that there are echoes of biblical mysticism in some of the Sufi poems. Psalms 42 and 63 may be profitably compared in this connexion.

In six chapters Dr. Nicholson describes the most important aspects of Sufism, but it should be remarked that the title of the volume is not quite in harmony with the contents. It is not with the mystics themselves that the author acquaints us, but with some aspects of mystic thought. Chapter I deals with the *Path* which leads to the goal of the Sufi. A comprehensive description is given of the *dhikr*, which Muslim mystics regard as the keystone of practical religion. While Dr. Nicholson successfully explains the significance of this ceremony to the mystic, I do not think he is right in considering the English word 'recollection' the most appropriate equivalent of *dhikr* (p. 45). The *dhikr* seems to be a relic of an ancient form of worship common to the early Semites. In the Koran ذَكَرَ in this connexion should best be rendered 'mention', not 'remember'. Its equivalent is of frequent occurrence in the Bible, where the Hifil form is used. Mention may especially be made of בָּשַׂם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִזְכֵּיר (Psalm 20. 8) and הַמְּזַכֵּרִים אֶת־יְהוָה (Isa. 62. 6). In the latter case it seems to have a technical sense. There is some evidence that the Kal was used in the same sense, for in Exod. 20. 24 the Hifil is causative. It is not unlikely that the use of the Hifil is due to its being a denominative verb. In these cases the synonym of זָכַר is קָרָא,

which is by far the more frequent of the two. See e.g. Ps. 105. 1; Deut. 32. 3. This phrase would best be understood if taken to mean a repetition of God's name, and this must have been the ordinary form of worship before prayers in the modern sense were introduced. God knows the innermost secrets of man's heart, and the mere mention of His name is sufficient for invocation. The story of Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kings 18. 20-40), where this phrase occurs several times, thus becomes very clear. It is to be observed that the Mohammedan formula لا اله الا الله is identical with יהוה הוא האלהים which is repeated twice in verse 39. A remarkable survival in present-day Jewish liturgy is the latter formula, which is repeated seven times on the Day of Atonement. No doubt the number seven has a mystic significance, but the Sufis repeat their formula an indefinite number of times until they become exhausted. The incessant repetition of a word or phrase enables the Sufi to concentrate all his senses on a particular object and to put himself into a trance. At all events the idea of 'recollection' does not suit here.

The other chapters deal with Illumination and Ecstasy, the Gnosis, Divine Love, Saints and Miracles, and the Unitive State. The fourth chapter, Divine Love, is perhaps the most interesting, and many of the extracts recall passages from the Zohar. Throughout the book Dr. Nicholson carefully avoids giving a mere list of names and books, and rightly sacrifices completeness for the sake of clarity. This volume is not a *résumé* of a larger work, which, we are told, the author is preparing, but a selection of interesting aspects of Sufism. In such a mode of treatment no two writers would agree as to the most appropriate selections. Every scholar has his favourite authors and books, to which he may unconsciously give undue prominence, while omitting others altogether. This becomes apparent when one notices that the greater part of the quotations is excerpted from Niffari, an unknown wandering dervish, whose Arabic book Dr. Nicholson is editing, and from Jalaluddin Rumi. On the other hand, there is not a single reference to the Egyptian poet Omar b. al-Farid, whose poems, especially the *al-Tū'iyyah al-Kubra*, have been read with

delight by mystics as well as by general readers of Arabic poetry. Nor is there a single quotation from the melodious and tender poems of Majnun (the madman) about Layla, to whom the author of the *Kitab al-Aghani* devotes considerable space. Dr. Nicholson refers to him only by the way. This is, however, a matter of taste, and the author certainly has a right to be guided by his own prejudices and predilections.

The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī: an essay in historical criticism.

By A. J. BUTLER, D.Litt., Fellow of Brasenose College.
Oxford: at the CLARENDON PRESS, 1913. pp. 87.

Babylon of Egypt: a study in the history of Old Cairo. By A. J.

BUTLER, D.Litt., Fellow of Brasenose College. Oxford: at
the CLARENDON PRESS, 1914. pp. 64.

The conquest of Egypt during the early days of the rise of Islam offers fascinating material for the historian. But, as is the case with almost all important periods in the history of mankind, the details of this event have not hitherto been cleared up. This is largely due to the uncertainty of the sources upon which the investigations into this subject are based. The Arab historians, especially Ṭabarī, have described this period at full length, but there is sufficient ground to question the authenticity of some of their statements. The difficulties are still more enhanced by the Coptic authorities whose version does not always coincide with that of the Arabs. In order to arrive at definite conclusions, the modern historian is accordingly obliged first of all to give an accurate interpretation of the texts of the Arabic and Coptic writers and then weigh the validity of the statements of one native author against those of the other. There is obviously room for divergence of opinion. A deplorable tendency of some modern historians is to generalize too readily and to discredit one source because some of its statements have proved erroneous, while putting implicit faith in another. Not infre-

quently racial and religious bias has played an important part in investigations of this kind. Coptic writers, being Christians, are regarded by some Christian historians as more trustworthy than the Arabs. But the unbiassed investigator knows no generalities, and judges each detail on its own merits.

Some time ago Dr. A. J. Butler published an excellent volume entitled *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), which was based upon a careful and painstaking study of the original sources. Owing to the difficulty of the subject, he naturally had to make use of conjectures and combinations, some of which have not stood the test of minute criticism. Stanley Lane-Poole, another erudite Arabist and brilliant student of that period, offered different theories and interpretations of some of the texts, and Dr. Butler, as a fearless investigator, now returns to the subject to revise some of his former conclusions which have proved untenable, and to defend others against which ill-founded objections have been raised. At present he limits the scope of his investigation to the study of some of the traditions recorded by Ṭabari, especially in connexion with the treaty of Miṣr. For some reason or other, Dr. Butler had used Zotenberg's edition, and by referring to de Goeje's work, he was able to correct some of his views. He chiefly takes issue with Lane-Poole, and gives a detailed investigation of the time and place of the treaty, the parties to the treaty, the meaning of the treaty, the authenticity of the treaty; the identity of al-Muḥauḳis. Two of the most important points where he seems to have proved his case satisfactorily may be given here. In the treaty occurs the clause *ولا يسأكنهم النوب*. A great deal depends upon the accurate interpretation of the word *النوب* which occurs three times in the text (once *النوبة*). Dr. Butler defends the view which takes this word to signify *Nubians*, and renders the clause: 'The Nubians shall not settle among them' (p. 34). A striking similarity occurs in the Treaty of Jerusalem, which contains the following clause: 'None of the Jews shall dwell with them in Jerusalem.' Lane-Poole offers a novel interpretation of this word which he renders *garrisons*. Etymologically this translation is equally pos-

sible, Dr. Butler's opinion notwithstanding. Even Freytag, on the authority of native lexicographers, gives the meaning *hominum agmen*, from which the idea of *garrison* can easily be derived. The objection that 'there is no authority for its use in the sense of *garrisons* at so early a date' (p. 38) is not of sufficient weight, as we do not at present possess even the material for an historical Arabic lexicon, the greater part of the literature still being unpublished. There is, however, a textual difficulty which renders Lane-Poole's explanation untenable. In one sentence of the treaty the phrase *الروم والنوب* is used. Now as the *garrisons* are supposed to be Roman, the expression 'the Romans and the *garrisons*' is quite unintelligible. This argument in itself is of sufficient cogency to establish the accuracy of Dr. Butler's view.

The other case which is also established in favour of Dr. Butler is in connexion with the identity of al-Muḡauḡis. Here, too, the evidence is conflicting, but a thorough examination of the various passages would lead one to identify al-Muḡauḡis with Cyrus, 'the imperial patriarch and viceroy'. The evidence from the Coptic writers supports this identification, and practically excludes any other hypothesis; it is among the Arab authors that confusion and uncertainty exist. While it is true that Dr. Butler has a tendency to disparage the Arab writers, it must be admitted that in this instance his disinclination to give credence to their statements is fully justified. These writers, as he rightly points out, seem to have caught the name al-Muḡauḡis by hearsay or tradition without understanding it. Nothing is gained by Stanley Lane-Poole's attempt to identify al-Muḡauḡis with some sub-governor, and the combined evidence skilfully marshalled by Dr. Butler is overwhelmingly against this view.

Many ancient and mediaeval writers—Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabian—speak of *Babylon of Egypt*, but some uncertainty exists as to the exact usage of this term at the time of the Moham-medan conquest of Egypt. All modern scholars have been practically unanimous in assuming that the site of this Babylon is somewhere in the region of Fustaṭ or Old Cairo. But the exact definition has hitherto been a matter of doubt. Some

native writers narrowed this term down to a Roman fortress built by Trajan and called *Ḳaṣr al-Shama'*, but there are passages which unmistakably point to a city called by that name. As this question is of importance for the history and topography of the Arab conquest, Dr. Butler has exhaustively examined all the available material, and lays the result of his investigations before the scholarly world. He sets out to establish three propositions: (1) Babylon was the recognized name of a town or city of great importance many centuries before the conquest; (2) the term was so understood at the time of the conquest; (3) this usage prevailed for some centuries after the conquest. He begins with Diodorus Siculus who relates that a number of prisoners from Asiatic Babylon seized a strong position on the Nile, and founded a settlement which they called Babylon. This city was known to Josephus, Strabo, Ptolemy, and others. Ptolemy especially is definite in his description, and tells us of a canal flowing through the city of Babylon. The cumulative evidence adduced by Dr. Butler absolutely militates against Pauly who contests the view that the name Babylon in Egypt had a real historical origin. Later on the name *Fuṣṭaṭ*, the origin of which is the Byzantine *Φουστατον*, supplanted that of Babylon whose exact signification was therefore forgotten. The latter term survived in Coptic. Mohammedan authors who flourished centuries after the conquest speak of Babylon as if it were merely a fortress. Their evidence, however, is inconclusive, and is obviously outweighed by that of the earlier writers. Moreover these statements are not mutually exclusive. The fact that there was a city named Babylon does not preclude the possibility of there having been a fortress in that city bearing its name. Dr. Butler aptly reminds us of the City of London and the Tower of London.

As Dr. Butler's essay is historical and geographical, it naturally contains few textual notes. There is, however, one remark which should be slightly modified. In quoting the geographer Idrisi, who has the name *بنبلون*, he observes that 'the first *ن* is clearly a copyist's error' (p. 39, note 2). But it is more likely that the mistake lies in the diacritical points: *بنبلون* should be read *ببيلون*.

The confusion of diacritical marks has often caused difficulty to editors of Arabic texts. Karaitic writers especially were in the habit of omitting most of these marks.

Über das Ehe- und Familienrecht der Mohammedaner. Von
DR. EMERICH VON KAURIMSKY. Wien: MANZSCHE K. U. K.
HOF- VERLAGS -UND UNIVERSITÄTS- BUCHHANDLUNG, 1914.
pp. vi + 81.

Even residents in Mohammedan countries find it difficult to familiarize themselves with the internal life of the Muslims. It is not so much mistrust as his peculiar standpoint of morality that makes the Mohammedan taciturn about his private affairs. He rarely, if ever, speaks of his family life, and will certainly not allow a stranger to cultivate the acquaintance of the female members of his household. It is therefore not surprising that the average European has distorted notions about the moral standard of the followers of Mohammed. But the student interested in Islamic institutions has no difficulty in obtaining ample information from Arabic literature. The Mohammedans, like the adherents of all other important religious creeds, have codified their laws which are still binding upon every 'true believer'. Dr. Emerich von Kaurimsky has collected the most characteristic laws appertaining to marriage, divorce, and family life in general, and presented them in popular form for the benefit of readers who are not acquainted with the Arabic language. He bases his studies on the Koran, on the books of the Abu Hanifite school, on the decisions, and on other codes. He correctly points out that the fundamental difference between some of these laws and those in vogue among European nations is due to the different aims of marriage. To the Mohammedan, marriage is merely a means of propagating the human race, and the idea of partnership for life is almost entirely absent.

The Arabist will hardly find any new material in this little

volume, which is obviously not intended for him, although the author usually gives a transcription of some of the technical terms. It is, however, the student of sociology who will derive accurate and reliable information about the inner mode of life of hundreds of millions of the human race. The European reader will find it strange that the bridegroom has to give a certain sum of money as dowry (مهر) to the bride, her parent, or guardian. This involves the idea of acquisition, which was shared by the ancient Hebrews, who also gave מוהר (see Exod. 22. 16), and with whom the verbs for *marrying* signified *buying* (נשא, קנה, לקח). Incidentally this law sometimes protected the woman against divorce, or expulsion, as the Arabs and Hebrews call it (נרש, طلق). Other points of interest will be found in connexion with the laws prohibiting the marriage of certain classes of relatives (which include a wet-nurse), the laws of inheritance, and the laws of a minor.

Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln und Verwantes im Kur'ān.

Ein Beitrag zur historischen Grammatik des Arabischen.

Von Dr. phil. GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER, Privatdozent an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. HENRICH, 1914. pp. 108.

During the golden period of their literature, the Arabs devoted a considerable part of their ability to the study of grammar and lexicography. The teachers at the schools of Basrah and Kufah produced an amazing number of grammatical works in which every minute detail was discussed and explained in various ways. Some idea of the magnitude of the labour of the Arabs in this field may be gained from Howell's monumental work. It is therefore surprising that historical grammars and lexica of the Arabic language are still a desideratum. This, to some extent, indicates a lack of interest in Arabic philology on the part of modern European scholars. The difficulty of such

a work must not be underrated. Arabic literature is exceedingly vast and not easily accessible to scholars, and it is obvious that a grammar or lexicon based on a small portion of the literature would not be much in advance of the existing books. Nevertheless, sporadic attempts to elucidate various details should be heartily encouraged, as they may form the nucleus for a comprehensive work. Dr. Bergsträsser confines himself in his present volume mainly to the usage of the negative and interrogative particles occurring in the Koran. With great assiduity he has collected all the passages and classified them into various groups. Each chapter begins with a statement about the usage of the particle under discussion: this is followed by an exhaustive table of the verses containing that particle, while the lengthy notes frequently explain its exact force in the various sentences in the Koran. This in itself is a praiseworthy achievement. As a source for variants, Dr. Bergsträsser made use of the commentaries by native writers, especially those by Zamahshari and Baiḍawī. He also consulted the works of modern European grammarians.

It must be admitted that the material thus collected and classified does not advance our knowledge of the development of Arabic grammar to a considerable extent. The passages are mechanically grouped together, and do not seem to yield much beyond the statistical results. The facts are well registered, but there is a lack of insight into the niceties of the language. A conspicuous instance may be given in connexion with the particle *laisa* (chap. 4, pp. 17-20). This is a negative particle which derives its particular force from the preposition with which it is combined. لَيْسَ لَهُ has a different signification from لَيْسَ بِهِ or لَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ, but this is entirely due to the preposition used in each case and not to the inherent force of لَيْسَ. And yet Dr. Bergsträsser groups the verses together in accordance with the prepositions. This is as illogical as to treat the different meanings of مَا عَلِمْتُ and مَا دُمْتُ under مَا.

Abū 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Annals entitled an-Nujūm az-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wal-Ḳāhira. Edited by WILLIAM POPPER. Vol. VI, Part 1, No. 1. Berkeley: at the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 1915. pp. vi+164. Vol. VI, Part 1, No. 2, 1916. pp. 165-321.

The enormous literature of the Arabs abounds in historical works which may justly fill the Jewish historian with envy. In the entire range of post-biblical literature the purely historical books are a negligible quantity, and it is with overwhelming joy that the student clutches even at a faded and tattered fragment containing a list of names, which is accidentally discovered. How strangely the 'scraps and bits' used as sources for Jewish history contrast with the bulky volumes of the Arabs describing every detail! Nothing is too trivial for the Arab historians. They take the trouble of describing every minute point as they know it, and give a chain of authorities from whom their information is derived. While the native chroniclers are not always reliable, for due allowance must be made for the prejudices and idiosyncrasies of individuals, the modern investigator of the various phases of the history of the Arabs has ample material to draw upon, and is generally spared the task of 'making bricks without straw'. To be sure, he has to use his judgement as to the accuracy of every detail, but the general trend of events is, as a rule, quite plain. When Weil wrote his *Geschichte der Chalifen* he excerpted from the native writers, and had no need of making ingenious conjectures. But a writer of the gaonic period is obliged to guess and to fill in the gaps by making clever combinations and taking the clue from an accidental remark which occurs in an obscure book. And when a structure has been plausibly erected, it not infrequently falls to pieces through the discovery of a fragment.

Among the Arab historians of the fifteenth century Abū 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Birdī occupies a prominent position. His style, it is true, is not very graceful, and in many places it approaches the Arabic dialect spoken in Egypt in our own times.

He also lacks that graphic vividness which characterizes Ṭabari, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭiḡa, and many others. But his works are full of detailed information, and as he draws near his own times he presents the faithful record of an eye-witness. His father took a leading part in the wars against Tamerlane, and his description of that period, although not unprejudiced, has the merit of being a faithful account from the sultan's point of view.

Professor Popper is to be congratulated on his assiduity in continuing the publication of these *Annals*. Thus far he has published the second volume and part of the third, and now he offers two parts of Vol. VI. He promises to give later on the completion of the third volume and to publish Vols. IV and V. The text, which is based on all available manuscripts, is well edited, and the high standard of the preceding volumes is successfully maintained. An eclectic text is offered, and the editor selected those readings which he deemed the most appropriate. In some cases the variants are of a grammatical nature, and the editor usually adopted those readings which are supported by our present knowledge of Arabic grammar. This is obviously a precarious mode of procedure, as it is quite likely that the 'grammatical' reading is a copyist's correction, while the 'ungrammatical' one may be dialectic and peculiar to the author. However, as there are no other criteria, grammar may arbitrarily be regarded as a guide. One instance should be mentioned where the editor did not choose the better reading. ناظر هذا الكتاب of the text (p. 73, l. 15) is inferior to الناظر في هذا الكتاب recorded in note *m*. The editor's notes, which are concise and not very numerous, deal mostly with textual variants, but now and again light is thrown on obscure words and expressions. The primary object of this edition is to make the *Annals* accessible to scholars, and there is hardly any necessity of giving too many explanatory notes. I should like to point out that note *e* of p. 51 ought to be modified. Professor Popper has rightly adopted the reading الرعم, which suits the context most admirably; but I cannot agree with him that the variant الرحم may stand for الزحم, which is hardly suitable. It seems to me that in a cursive hand الرعم would be

easily misread as *الرحم*. There are also a few corrections to be made in connexion with the poetic quotations. P. 160, l. 10, the metre demands the vocalization *سبعة*. Insert the word *الطويل* at the end of l. 18, p. 301. The poem beginning with p. 302, l. 10, is correctly given as Kamil, but the first word does not scan. Read perhaps *ويليل*. *Ibid.*, l. 13: vocalize *أَهِم*. Instead of *قَلْبِي* read *قَلْبِي* (*ibid.*, l. 18).

An important improvement introduced in this volume is the dates on the margin. This naturally facilitates reference to this work. A further improvement may be suggested for the future volumes, namely, the introduction of suitable headings for the various paragraphs. These headings may best be placed on the margin, to indicate that they do not form part of the text. The necessity of such headings may be realized from the fact that pp. 1-135 run practically under one heading. Only on the margin of pp. 73-85, dealing with the biography of Tamerlane, do we have the specified heading *ترجمة تيمور*. There are many other important sub-divisions which can easily be specified in a similar manner.

These two parts of the volume extend over 321 closely printed pages, and cover a period of fifteen years (801-815 A.H.). They treat of the first sultanate of al-Nāṣir Faraj b. Barḳuḳ (801-808), the brief sultanate of Maṣṣur 'Abd al-'Aziz, the second sultanate of al-Nāṣir Faraj b. Barḳuḳ (808-815), and the beginning of the sultanate of al-Musta'in billahi al-'Abbas. Ibn Tag̃rī Birdi follows up his method most consistently. As in the preceding volumes, he gives a detailed description of the events during each period, and then takes up every year separately, devoting considerable space to the prominent men who died during that time. Very pathetic is the necrology during the years of Tamerlane's campaigns. About the year 803 the author remarks: 'Only God knows the number of people who died by his (Tamerlane's) sword during that year' (p. 143). The state of the Nile is also recorded for each year. Tamerlane's exploits and cruel acts are described at full length. He is naturally represented as the conventional tyrant, and his physical deformities are particularly emphasized.

The author considered it necessary to make a long digression, devoting several pages to some incidents in Tamerlane's life. He relates that the tyrant was born with his hands filled with blood, which indicated that he would shed blood (p. 74). A curious account is given of his death (pp. 279 ff.), which reminds one of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. At the same time Ibn Tag̃rī Birdi pays a glowing tribute to Tamerlane's bravery and to his love of knowledge. For further details he refers the reader to his book entitled *al-manḥal al-ṣāfī wal-mustaufī ba'da al-wāfī*. In general his descriptions tally with the character of 'Timour by the English poet Matthew Gregory Lewis.

رسالة عبد الله بن اسمعيل الهاشمي الى عبد المسيح بن اسحق الكندي
يدعوه بها الى الاسلام ورسالة الكندي الى الهاشمي يرد بها عليه
ويدعوه الى النصرانية. London: BIBLE LANDS MISSIONS' AID
SOCIETY, 1912. pp. 181.

رسالة الدليل الى سواء السبيل. London: BIBLE LANDS MISSIONS
AID SOCIETY (?). pp. 167.

Christian missionaries view with grave concern the rapid spread of Islam in Africa and other parts of the world where Arabic is spoken. Mohammedans, on the other hand, point with pride to the circumstance that rarely does one of their coreligionists embrace Christianity. The failure of Christians in that direction has usually been attributed to the lack of books in Arabic to explain the tenets of Christianity to the followers of Muhammed. To be sure, the Syrian Christians and the Copts, whose mother-tongue is Arabic, have a literature of their own, but the Orientals do not employ the proselytizing methods of the Western missionary. It is necessary to master the tenets of Islam before one would attempt to refute them. The Syrian Christians and Copts, however, would rarely venture to read even the Koran, and they are therefore hardly qualified to produce controversial literature. Still, apologetic books in Arabic appear

from time to time. One of the books of this character is the so-called *Apology of Al-Kindi*, which caused somewhat of a sensation some years ago. It was published by the Turkish Mission Aid Society, and in 1882 Sir William Muir printed an essay attempting to prove the authenticity of this book. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., Vol. 14 (1882), pp. 1-18, 317-18. The first book, whose Arabic title is given above, is a reprint of this *Apology*, and it may not be amiss to point out the untenability of Muir's view.

The book contains two epistles, one written by 'Abd Allah b. Ismail the Hashimite inviting his friend 'Abd al-Masih b. Ishak the Kindite to embrace Islam, while the second is by the Kindite refuting all the arguments in favour of Islam and inviting the Hashimite to adopt the Christian faith. This information is given on the title-page, and it is further specified that the two supposed writers flourished during the khalifate of al-Ma'mun about the year 861. While the *Apology* is not explicitly ascribed to al-Kindi, the famous philosopher of the Arabs, and the note at the end of the book tells us that it is not known how closely related the author was to the philosopher, there is some insinuation that the apologist was a celebrated personage, and this gave rise to the confusion of the names. Before the advent of Muhammed, the tribe of Kindah was under the influence of Judaism, and it is not unlikely that some members were adherents to Christianity, but later they seemed to have become Muslims. D'Herbelot's view that the philosopher was a Jew was convincingly refuted by De Sacy (see *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allatif*, p. 417). Similar attempts to prove that he was a Christian have also failed. He was a Muslim, although he was persecuted by his coreligionists for his heretical doctrines. It is therefore quite obvious that the philosopher could not have been the author of the *Apology*. Muir rightly dismisses this ascription, but thinks that there were a Kindite and a Hashimite at the court of al-Ma'mun, contemporaries of the philosophers, and that they respectively wrote the epistles. His main support is al-Biruni's statement: 'Likewise 'Abd al-Masih b. Ishak al-Kindi, the Christian, in his reply to the

Book of 'Abd Allah b. Ismail al-Hashimi, relates of them (the Sabeans) that they are notorious for human sacrifice, but that at present they are not able to practise it openly' (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, p. 187). Nothing, however, is known of this al-Kindi or al-Hashimi, and al-Biruni's remark, even if it is genuine, does not tell us about the age during which these writers flourished. Al-Biruni lived at the end of the tenth century, and the apologist may have been his contemporary. Moreover, there is not a particle of evidence to identify these epistles with the books referred to by al-Biruni. A careful reading of the book would lead one to the inevitable conclusion that both epistles were written by one and the same man. In the present edition al-Hashimi's epistle occupies only twenty-three pages, while al-Kindi is allowed one hundred and thirty pages to 'state his case'. The latter epistle teems with quotations from the Old and New Testaments, and reminds one of the Yiddish pamphlets of this nature. All the supposed 'Christological passages' are quoted and explained, and the author has very uncomplimentary references to Judaism and Islam. He naturally passes severer judgement on the former, as the prospective convert must after all be treated with some consideration. This is by no means a 'pious fraud'. It is quite legitimate for an author to take two fictitious characters and put into their mouths arguments through which the superiority of his own doctrines becomes manifest. Judah ha-Levi skilfully employed this literary mode of expression in his *al-Khazari*, and nobody is asked to believe that the conversations actually took place. As a matter of fact the preface to the epistles bears out my contention. It says: 'It has been related that in the time of al-Ma'mun there lived a man, one of foremost of the Hashimites, (I think he was of the descendants of 'Abbas), . . . famous for piety and adherence to Islam. . . . He had a friend, a Kindite, famous for his adherence to Christianity, in the service of the khalif. . . . For some reason or other, we are unwilling to mention their names. The Hashimite wrote the following letter to the Christian.' Who is the author of this preface? It could not have been written by a later editor or copyist, as there is no conceivable reason why he should suppress

their names. The only possible explanation is that the author, before giving the epistles, tells us vaguely who his characters are. He naturally did not want to ascribe his epistles to definite persons. This will also explain another difficulty. Muir remarked that it was strange and unaccountable that this book was not better known and valued in Christian countries. It would indeed be unaccountable, were the book to have been written by a prominent man of the middle of the tenth century; but the difficulty disappears, if we assume that the epistles are the work of a Nestorian or Jacobite Christian who lived many centuries after al-Ma'mun. Muir lays great stress upon the style of the book. But, as far as this is concerned, the book could have been written to-day by a Maranite or Coptic priest, especially with the aid of a Western missionary. The Arabic dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, published in Egypt and Syria, contain articles that surpass the epistles in rhetorical power. We are told by the editor at the end of the book that he made use of transcripts of two manuscripts, one of which is stored in a library in Constantinople, while the other belongs to one of the libraries of Egypt (or Cairo; مصر is ambiguous). These manuscripts bear no date, and do not give the name of the copyist. The vagueness of the description naturally adds to our suspicion.

The second book, the title of which may be translated 'The Guide to the Right Path', is anonymous, and does not bear the date or place of publication. Presumably it was issued from the same press and about the same time as the 'two epistles'. It contains ten chapters in which specific Mohammedan traditions are refuted. Each tradition is given at full length, and then examined and proved to be impossible. The author displays a thorough mastery of Mohammedan theology and traditions. His style is rather good, but it has the faults common to many modern Arabic writers who are fond of verbosity. In its mode of treatment it is similar to the *Manar al-Hakk*, or *The Beacon*, translated into English by Muir (London, 1894).

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THE ORIGIN OF THE SHULCHAN-ARUCH

Die Entstehung des Shulchan-Aruch. Beitrag zur Festlegung der Halachah. Von Dr. CH. TSCHERNOWITZ. Bern: ACADEMISCHE BUCHHANDLUNG VON MAX DRECHSEL, 1915. pp. 79.

THE talmudic saying: תפשת מרובה לא תפשת מועט תפשת 'If you attempt to grasp too much you may not be able to hold it, but if you grasp a little you *may* be able to hold it', may serve as a good advice to a certain class of authors, reminding them first, to define to themselves the scope of the subject which they set out to treat in their works, and then to remain within its circumscribed limits. If the author accurately defines his task and limits himself to one special subject or one particular problem he is more likely to have a firm grasp of his subject and to be able to bring out clearly whatever new theory he has to advance or whatever contribution he has to make to the solution of the problem with which his book deals. If, however, he does not so limit himself but drags into the discussion of his special theme questions of other subjects and vast problems only remotely connected with it, then, unless he be a great master, his grasp of all these various problems is likely to be weak. And if the compass of his book is small, his treatment of the various questions will lack in thoroughness. He may touch upon many remote questions and minor problems, discuss superficially some aspects of the main problem, hint at or refer to different theories, without bringing out clearly whatever theory of his own he has to offer.

The work before us is the best illustration of the truth of the saying: תפשת מרובה לא תפשת. The author did not grasp many of the problems which he touches upon in this small volume. His treatment of the main theme is inadequate. His theories are unfounded, his discussions are superficial, and many

of his statements are inaccurate and frequently contradict one another.

The work, as indicated by its title, purposes to deal chiefly with the genesis of the *Shulḥan Aruk*, but only a very small proportion of it is given to the treatment of this subject. Pages 1-22 deal with the methods of teaching and the definition of terms used in the talmudic literature, which have no bearing upon the genesis of the *Shulḥan Aruk*. Pages 22-4 contain a few general and superficial remarks about the development of the Halakah studies during the thousand years which intervened between the close of the talmudic period and the appearance of the *Shulḥan Aruk*. Pages 24-7 contain an account of Joseph Caro's life, his purpose and method in composing the *Shulḥan Aruk*, a comparison of the *Shulḥan Aruk* with the *Tur*, the faults and shortcomings of both these codes, in what they are alike and in what they are not alike. Pages 28-79 deal with the opposition to the *Shulḥan Aruk* and its final acceptance, the activities of its commentators, as well as with the works of other great rabbinical authorities of that period.

Thus, out of the 79 pages which the book contains, at the most, only six pages can be considered as, in a manner, dealing with the genesis of the *Shulḥan Aruk*.

This is a great fault of the book, but it is the least as compared with the other serious faults and grave mistakes to be found in it. I shall limit myself to pointing out only a few of the wild theories and unwarranted statements in which the book abounds.

The author tells us (pp. 11-12) that the early sources hardly draw any line between Halakah and Haggadah. The distinction between Halakah and Haggadah was made only by the Geonim after the completion of the Talmud. It would require more space than allowed to me for this review, to cite, in full, the numerous passages in the talmudic literature in which such a distinction is made. I can only refer to Levy's Dictionary and Bacher's *Terminologie*, s. v. הלכה and הגדה.

But our author must have forgotten his own statement on p. 5, that in order to be able to appreciate the Halakah one must go back to the Haggadah, which the *sources* always contradistinguish

from the Halakah. So the sources do distinguish between Halakah and Haggadah.

On pp. 12-14 our author advances the following unfounded and confused theory about the relation of Halakah to Minhag or custom :

The terms הלכה and מנהג 'custom', have always been identical, and the ancient teachers use the expressions 'practices', 'customs' for all that which we subsume under the term Halakah. But the authoritative power of the popular custom was regarded as the highest authority from which all valid decisions issue. The Halakah always relies for its support upon the popular custom. The Halakah is even subordinated to the מנהג as the higher source. The rule therefore was that in cases of conflict between the Halakah and the Minhag, the former must yield to the latter. Even the teachers of the Law, would, whenever the Halakah conflicted with a custom, recognize the latter as authoritative and valid. The halakic decision acquires binding power only after it becomes a popular custom. Accordingly, the Halakah is merely custom accepted by the teachers. In itself the Halakah possesses no binding power. It is merely theoretical teaching which must not necessarily be followed in practice.

Aside from the contradictions contained in these statements (for if הלכה and מנהג were always identical, one could not have been made subordinate to the other and they could never have come into conflict with one another, and there could not have been a rule that when conflicting with one another the Halakah must yield to the Minhag, and if there was such a rule, it could have been enacted only by the teachers of the Law, why then state that *even* the teachers of the Law acted upon this rule), the theory advanced is absolutely unfounded. It is almost inconceivable that one who is familiar with the talmudic literature should form such an opinion about the character and the authority of the Halakah. The talmudic passages which the author cites in support of his theory are either altogether misinterpreted or taken out of their context and given general application, other talmudical passages to the contrary notwithstanding.

Thus in support of his statement that the Mishnah contains numerous halakic rules, the origin of which can be traced only to popular customs, our author quotes the saying of R. Johanan in

p. Peah II, 6 (17 a): אם באת הלכה תחת ירך ואין אתה יודע מה : טיבה אל תפליגנה לרבר אחר שהרי כמה הלכות נאמרו למשה מסיני וכולהו משוקעות במשנה. But there is no mention at all in this saying of halakic decisions which have their origin in popular custom, and I am inclined to think that R. Johanan would resent the implication that what he designates as Halakot communicated to Moses from Sinai were merely popular customs.

As proof for his statement that the Halakah always leans on the popular custom as its support, our author quotes the saying of R. Joshua b. Levi (p. Peah VII, 6, 20 a): כל הלכה שהיא רופפת בבית דין ואין אתה יודע מה טיבה צא וראה מה הצבור נוהג ונהוג. But this saying expressly states that only when the Halakah is vascillating in regard to a certain question, i. e. when the Halakah has no definite decision about it, the established practice of the people in regard to that question should be followed. It certainly does not say that the Halakah in its definite rulings and decisions needs the support of the popular custom. The saying: כשם שקונים לשם שקונים (p. Pesahim IV, 3, 30 d) which our author further cites in support of his statement, proves just the contrary. For this saying presupposes the inferiority of the מנהג as compared with the Halakah. It plainly says that even the disregard of a mere custom is to be punished just as the disregard of a halakic rule. From the context, there, in the Yerushalmi we further learn that the rule itself, viz. that disregard of a custom is to be punished, cannot be sustained. The precedent cited there in support of this rule was a case of a violation of a rabbinic law and not of a mere custom.

As proof for his statement that the teachers would recognize the custom as valid notwithstanding its being in conflict with the Halakah, the author cites from p. Shekalim I, 46 a the phrase: לא להלכה אבל להנהיג, which he takes out of its context, misquotes, and misinterprets. The discussion there has no reference whatever to cases of conflict between Halakah and Minhag. It deals with the question whether the religious observances in connexion with Purim obtain also in the first month of Adar in a leap-year or not. R. Honah of Sepphoris says: 'In Sepphoris,

Rabbi Ḥaninah has introduced the custom to follow the opinion of R. Simon b. Gamaliel', mentioned in the Baraita there. To this saying of R. Ḥonah, is then added the remark: **לא אמר אלא הנהיג**: 'R. Honah only said that R. Ḥaninah had introduced it as a mere custom but not that the Halakah should be so'. The difference is very important, for if it was introduced merely as a custom, it may have been due to considerations for local or temporary conditions and need not be followed in other places. If, however, it had been declared as a Halakah it would have general validity and had to be followed in other communities also. Thus, the discussion there proves rather the superiority of the halakic decisions over mere custom, contrary to our author's statement. In the same manner our author misinterprets the passage in b. Tannit 26 b: **מאן דאמר הלכה כר' מאיר דרשין לה**: 'מאן דאמר מנהג מירדש לא דרשין אורוי מורין בפירקא'. The meaning of this saying is plainly this: According to the one who says, It is a Halakah, we declare it in the public discourse, so that all the people may know it and guide themselves by it. But according to the one who says, It is merely a Minhag, we should not declare it in the public discourse, for we are not so sure about it as to make it an authoritative rule binding upon the people. However, when consulted by an individual we should inform him that it is a proper custom. This again, contrary to our author's assumption, proves that the Halakah is by far superior to the Minhag and of more binding authority. From the same passage in Tannit our author could have learned to distinguish between a mere popular practice **נהגו העם** and a recognized religious custom **מנהג**. This would have helped him to take at their proper valuation the two phrases **שאין הלכה נקבעת עד שיהא מנהג** and **מנהג מבטל הלכה**, which apparently lend support to his theory about the authority of the Minhag.

Against the saying **מנהג מבטל הלכה** we could cite the talmudic question (R. H. 15 b) **כי נהגו שבקינן להו?** And against the saying in the post-talmudic Tractate Soferim XIV, 18 **שאין הלכה נקבעת עד שיהא מנהג** we might rightly use the talmudic argument **אטו במנקא תליא מילתא?** Hullin 63 a. But the same

passage in the tractate Soferim refutes the interpretation given by our author to these two phrases by adding the following qualifying statement: *וזה שאמרו מנהג מבטל הלכה מנהג ותוקין אבל מנהג שאין לו ראייה מן התורה אינו אלא כטועה בשקול הדעה*. This expressly tells us, that only such customs as had a good reason for being established and proofs from the Torah to support them, are to be considered as authoritative. In other words, the established Minhag receives recognition and authority only because we presume that it is based upon some halakic teaching of those former authorities who introduced it. (I have treated other aspects of the relation between the halakic teachings and established religious practice, as the product of the religious consciousness of the people, in an essay on Tradition and the Jewish Consciousness, to be published soon by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The importance of the question of the authority of the Halakah, will, I hope, justify my having given so much space here to the refutation of this one theory of our author.)

On pp. 31-2 the author advances the following theory about the different attitudes towards religious laws and practices held by the Spanish and German authorities respectively :

In regard to the observance of the dietary laws, we find the German rabbis to be lenient and the Spanish rabbis to be more strict. This difference is due to the different political and social conditions under which the Jews of the two countries lived. In Spain the relations between Jews and non-Jews were friendly. The Rabbis, fearing that the Jews might become assimilated, were, therefore, anxious to erect a barrier between the Jewish and non-Jewish population. This they believed could be best achieved by insisting upon a rigid observance of the dietary laws. In Germany, on the other hand, the separation between Jews and non-Jews was wide enough and, accordingly, there was no need of such special measures to prevent assimilation. This difference between the Spanish and German Jews in regard to the ritual laws is already noticeable in the fact that the German Jews were more zealously careful in the observance of their religion and its observances than the Spanish Jews.

Here again the author is confused and contradicts himself. But aside from this, the very phenomena which our author sets

out to explain by his social-political observations refute his theory. For, as a matter of fact, the tendency to be strict in the interpretation and application of the dietary laws prevailed among the German rabbis, while the Spanish rabbis were comparatively lenient in this regard.

The author has a special fondness for sweeping generalizations to which very many of his numerous false and contradictory statements are to be attributed. I shall mention only a few. According to our author the patriarchate in Palestine ceased at the same time when the Babylonian Talmud was completed, in the year 520 C.E. (p. 22). As a matter of fact, the patriarchate ceased about the year 426, after the death of the last patriarch Gamaliel VI.

On p. 23 our author makes the sweeping statement that the Spanish scholars were the only ones who pursued grammatical and exegetical studies. This is a statement which is hardly worthy of refutation.

Another such sweeping generalization is his statement on the same page, that the German authorities occupied themselves almost exclusively with the codification of the Halakah while the Spanish scholars busied themselves with the explanation and expansion of the talmudic logic and with a theoretical study of the Torah.

On p. 25 he makes Alfasi, Maimonides, and Asheri, respectively, the representatives of three main tendencies in Judaism, viz. the Babylonian, Spanish, and German.

On p. 26 (ll. 1-3) he states that the Shulḥan Aruk is like the Ṭur only in its 'Disposition'. Otherwise it is essentially different from the Ṭur. But on the same page, ll. 24-7, he contradicts himself by making the following statement: 'It (the Shulḥan Aruk) is, as already stated, merely an extract from the Ṭur. Accordingly, it is, as regards contents and arrangement, in nowise different from the Ṭur.'

On p. 28 he stated that the 'Sephardic scholars have nowhere stated expressly their position or attitude toward the Shulḥan Aruk'. But, on the same page and on p. 29 he quotes a few

Sephardic authorities who expressed themselves unfavourably about the Shulḥan Aruk.

The author occasionally uses the titles of the two works *שולחן ערוך* and *בית יוסף*, interchangeably. He speaks of the Shulḥan Aruk when he means the Bet Joseph and *vice versa*. This indiscriminate use of the titles of the two works, probably aided by the printer's devil, has produced a rather comical confusion in the dates which the author gives to the completion and publication of the two works. Thus, on p. 24, we are told that Karo began with the preparation for his work *בית יוסף* in the year 1552 (obviously printer's mistake for 1522). It took him twenty years to collect his material and twelve years more to compose the work, which he finished in Safed in the year 1554. On p. 25 we are told, further, that after Karo had completed his work *בית יוסף* he decided to write the Shulḥan Aruk. Then, on p. 26, it is stated that the first and second part of the Shulḥan Aruk appeared in Venice in the year 1550, while the third and fourth part appeared in Labbionette (should be Sabbioneta) in the years 1553 and 1559. According to these dates the first and second part of the Shulḥan Aruk were published at least four years before Karo had decided to write the same. This confusion is due to the mistake which the author made in assigning to the Shulḥan Aruk the dates 1550, &c., the years of the publication of the Bet Joseph.

The printer will probably share in the responsibility for a large proportion of the minor mistakes, such as mis-spelled words, faulty references, and inaccurate quotations which are found on almost every page of the book.

Many of the awkward expressions and vague and meaningless phrases which abound in the book may be due to the difficulty which the author seems to have in expressing himself in German.

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BARTON'S 'THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD'

The Religions of the World. By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS. Chicago, Illinois. pp. x + 349.

THE book is one of a series of Handbooks of ethics and religion issued by the University of Chicago Press. In fifteen chapters Professor Barton delineates successively : the religions of primitive peoples ; the religion of Babylonia and Assyria ; the religion of Egypt ; the religion of the ancient Hebrews ; Judaism ; Mohammedanism ; Zoroastrianism ; the religion of the Vedas ; Buddhism and Jainism ; Hinduism ; the religions of China ; the religions of Japan ; the religion of Greece ; the religion of Rome ; and Christianity. At the head of each chapter are selections from the religious literature which give expression to the principal ideas and the spirit embodied in the religion treated in the chapter, and at the close is a brief summary and an evaluation of that religion, followed by short bibliographies for 'supplementary reading', divided into two classes according to the library facilities of the student. An appendix gives a further lengthy bibliography for the use of the teacher, and a second appendix suggests an outline of a book to be written by the student.

The book is a *multum in parvo*. Within 307 pages Professor Barton has succeeded in giving a comprehensive and rounded out summary of the principal tenets and characteristic manifestations, their origin and historical development, and their relation to the other factors of life, of all the great religions. The well-known broadmindedness of the author is exhibited in every chapter of the book. Thus in summing up the chapter on Judaism he says : 'The spirit of Judaism, whether orthodox or reform, is still noble. Jews regard themselves as heirs of the prophets, as the

preachers of monotheism, and the champions of social righteousness. . . . They have in modern times furnished, too, a good quota of the world's notable philanthropists' (p. 95). The estimate of Islam closes with the words: 'Much must be conceded to a religious system that commands the devotion of nearly one-sixth of the population of the globe, even if it must be recognized that it is not the natural instrument for the expression of the religious feeling of the most refined' (p. 115 f.).

Professor Barton's views of the origin and history of the religion of the Semites and of the ancient Hebrews, with his theory of a matriarchal social organization and a mother goddess as a *prius*, is well known from his *Sketch of Semitic Origins*. We shall only mention that in the present book he suggests as a probable meaning of the Tetragrammaton, 'he who causes passionate love' (p. 61, cf. *Semitic Origins*, p. 284: 'He who gives life the most probable original meaning'). Anthropologists will take exception to the statement (p. 1): 'Paleolithic man did not shape the stones employed for tools.' Unquestioned stone artifacts have been found in river-gravels, and in caves and rock-shelters, the high antiquity of which has been attested not only by their geological placement but by their association with the remains of extinct species of animals, such as the mammoth, rhinoceros, reindeer, &c. So also there is no evidence of a 'Copper Age' (p. 2), that is, of a universal stage of culture characterized by the sole use of copper, though it is very likely that in some parts of the world copper was the first metal of which implements were made.

The book will fully serve its purpose as a text-book for the college for which it is primarily intended. But the general reader, too, and even those acquainted with the special and larger works of Hopkins, Jastrow, Moore, Toy, and others will find it useful and handy for reviewing their knowledge. The index is full and thorough, and the typographical arrangement of the book is all that could be desired.

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KOHUT'S EDITION OF 'NATHAN THE WISE'.

Nathan the Wise. A dramatic poem by GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING. Translated from the German by PATRICK MAXWELL. Edited, with an Introduction, comprising a Biographical Sketch of the Author, a Critical Analysis of the Poem, and an Account of the Relation between LESSING and MOSES MENDELSSOHN, by GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT. New York: BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1917. pp. 388.

IT was Goethe—so wonderfully prolific in such suggestions—who advised that every year we should renew acquaintance with our treasures of art, if we would retain our love of beauty and appreciation of what is highest and best. Merely to possess choice etchings or priceless gems and paintings is not enough—they must be brought closer to us, and studied with rapt devotion from time to time, if art and knowledge are to fulfil their mission.

The suggestion has a wide application, especially in the domains of religion and literature, which are apt to prove of secondary value unless they become more than merely reminiscent. So far as Judaism is concerned, the Mosaic Code anticipated the sage of Weimar by insisting that the Law was to be 'actualized' in each day's record. The daily identification of Israel with statutes and ordinances, which were 'our life and the prolongation of our days', had only one purpose in view, to translate religion into life and life into religion. Our Law in its broader sweep and later development was practically pedagogic. It was never meant to be like a cold storage product to be taken out of its cell mechanically at certain intervals and then to be returned once more to darkness and silence. It was felt that the daily association with symbols would inspire ethical ideals, as has been proved in the lengthening centuries of Jewish history.

In its application to literature, Goethe's counsel has perennial

force, and 'Nathân the Wise' is a notable case in point. That drama is a costly jewel not for the cabinet alone. It must be taken from its shelf at regular intervals, and carefully studied as one of those precious gifts which enrich mankind and ineffably promote the consciousness of our common humanity—one in character, if varied in characteristics.

Dr. Kayserling, in his enlarged and revised biography of Mendelssohn (1888), which was first issued twenty-five years earlier, devotes one of his divisions to Lessing, and tells the story of his famous drama and its close relationship to its author's friend of thirty years' intimacy. He shows, too, how the ambitious 'Der Jude', written in enthusiastic youth, developed into 'Nathan the Wise'; he compares that work as a life-composition to Goethe's Faust, begun in youth and completed in old age. Kayserling, despite his penchant for flowing eulogy rather than cool criticism, gives a mass of interesting details as to character and incidents, referring to the zeal with which the drama has been studied and the striking parallels brought from Jewish and other sources.

It is idle, save to gratify the moment's curiosity, to search for parallels in the analysis of such a masterpiece. Truth is universal—the intuitions of genius are never local, depending upon soil formation or the trade winds. Why should not anticipations and repetitions of thoughts be found in the ethical sayings of nations and creeds? Who best tells a truth makes that truth his own. The origin of a thought is less to be considered than its practical influence. The ever-recurring question of Lessing's indebtedness for the parable of the three rings need not unduly puzzle the reader. He refers to Boccaccio as his source¹—his own inventiveness did the rest. Some see parallels elsewhere which are more or less satisfactory, but such resemblances, real or fancied, may occur unconsciously or unaccountably. As a librarian Lessing was at home among books, and would not have hesitated to give more definite data had it been necessary.

It was a happy thought of George A. Kohut, whose taste and

¹ Kayserling, p 340; Kohut, p. 25.

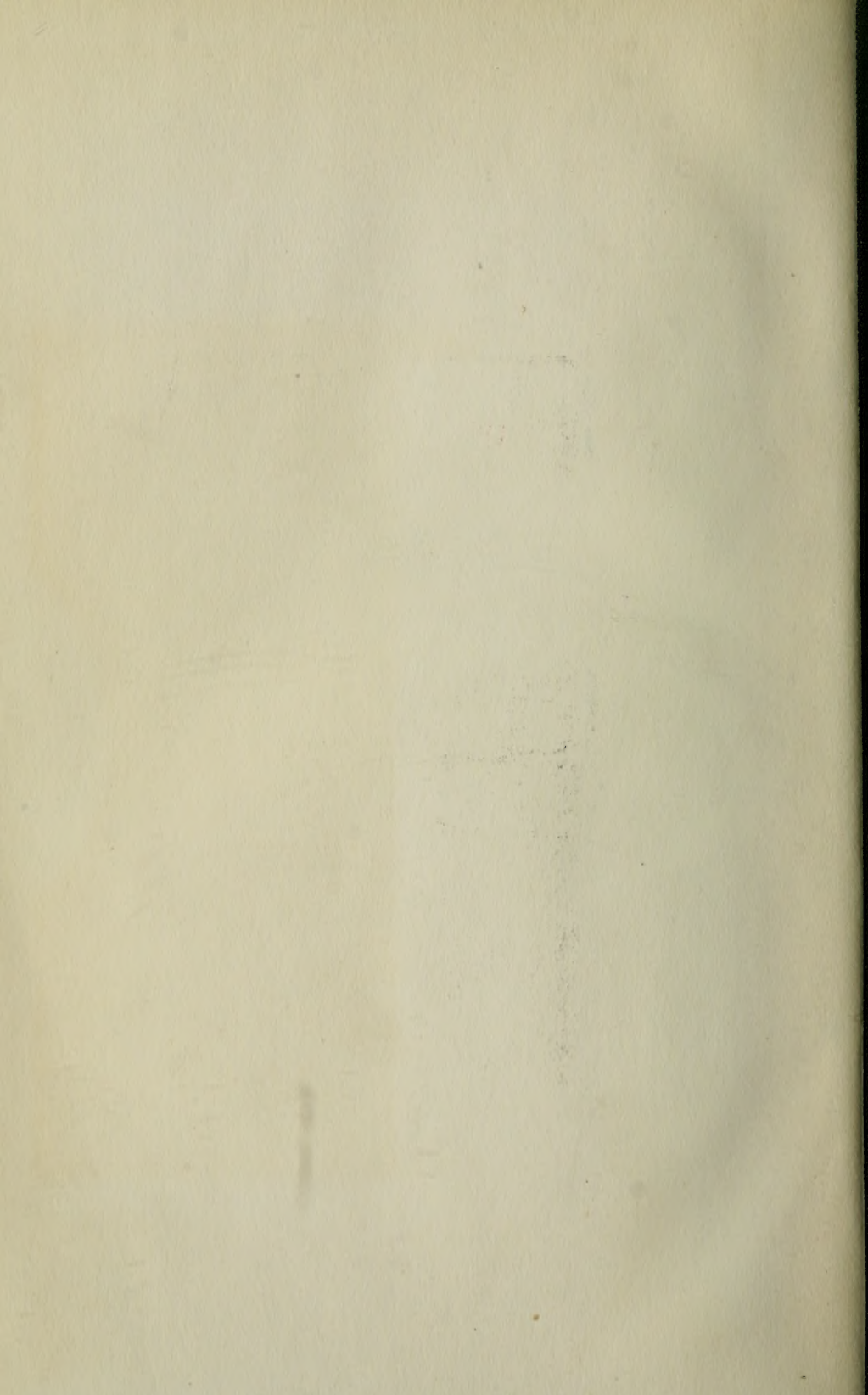
scholarship have already been evidenced in the world of literature, to issue a Lessing book at this, of all eras in history when mankind needs to be reminded of its essential brotherhood, however hopeless seem the task to many of us with limited vision. Making Maxwell's translation, issued originally in London, the volume's nucleus, he has added a readable introduction, with ample notes and illustration, which give the book a distinction and quality of its own. The publishers have aided in the necessary details of binding and typography. Mr. Kohut is an entertaining as well as scholarly editor, and has admirably condensed his information from the sources. Hence his edition is indispensable to lovers of literature in general and students of Lessing in particular, in these days of world strife and vanishing ideals, when we all need the spur and solace of 'Nathan the Wise'.

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